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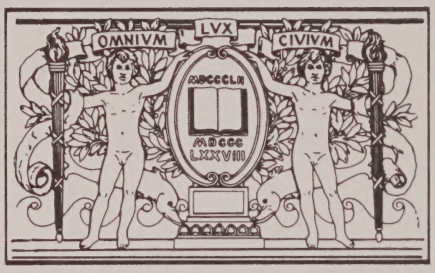

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LXXVI.

JULY, 1832.

ART. I.—*History of Kentucky.*

The History of Kentucky, exhibiting an Account of the Modern Discovery, Settlement, Progressive Improvement, Civil and Military Transactions, and the Present State of the Country. In two volumes. By H. MARSHALL. Frankfort. 1824.

The history of Kentucky is replete with interest for those, who contemplate with a philosophical eye the gradual but incessant advances of human improvement, and the final triumph of human intelligence over the obstacles presented by rude nature and savage men. It may be asserted, with strict regard to truth, that the annals of no country afford more convincing testimony of the courage, the patience and the inflexible perseverance with which its primitive inhabitants have met and surmounted all the difficulties by which they were opposed, in their attempts to secure for themselves and their posterity a permanent resting-place upon the soil. From the first effort which was made to effect a settlement in Kentucky, until within a comparatively short period, the emigrant was beset by dangers and subjected to sufferings and privations, sufficient to appal any heart, that had not been taught by long and painful trials, to encounter whatever might resist the accomplishment of its determined purpose. The wild face of nature was the least powerful enemy of the enterprising settler. He was compelled to contend in almost unremitted combat with the

savage, against whose vengeance and insidious plans for its gratification, it required all his vigilance and intrepidity to guard.

We have the authority of Filson for the fact, that James Mc Bride was the first white man who visited, or, as that writer declares, 'discovered' Kentucky. This visit or discovery was made in 1754. It is asserted by Filson, that Mc Bride, in that year, descended the Ohio accompanied by some other individuals, in canoes, 'landed at the mouth of Kentucky river, and there marked a tree with the first letters of his name and the date, which remain to this day.' Marshall appears to entertain a doubt on this subject; at least he does not, in referring to the visit of Mc Bride, express himself in such unequivocal language as is employed by Filson. He alludes to the circumstance rather as a traditional one, than as if it were entitled to implicit credence, and informs us that this tradition was not known in Virginia so lately as 1767, thirteen years subsequently to the time at which the rude memorial of discovery, mentioned by Filson, is alleged to have been made.

From the period of Mc Bride's excursion to Kentucky until 1767, no information respecting it appears to have been received. In that year, a party, consisting of John Finley and others, formed with the intention of trading with the Indians, traversed the country, which was then called by the natives the 'Dark and Bloody Ground,' and sometimes the 'Middle Ground.' Doctor Walker, of Virginia, a gentleman of great intelligence and enterprise, had, about the year 1758, led a small party into that region, for the purpose of exploring Powel's Valley, on the east of the ridge to which he gave the name of Cumberland mountain. While engaged in his researches, he learned that the Ohio was not far distant, and that he might arrive at it by pursuing a north-easterly course. Having obtained the consent of his associates to accompany him, he and his party directed their course towards Cumberland Gap. They passed through this opening, descended Cumberland mountain, and discovered a large river, to which the Doctor gave the name of Cumberland. Supposing that the Ohio lay east of north, he was induced to proceed in that direction, which proved not to be the right one, and, in consequence of this error, he was detained in a rough, mountainous region, until he had passed the Kentucky river, which he named Louisa. He then arrived at Big Sandy river, hav-

ing failed in his attempt to discover the Ohio. After enduring great labor and surmounting many difficulties in his progress through this wild region, he returned home, without having acquired any valuable information respecting it, and so much discouraged by the result of his journey, that he did not again visit the country. His account of it was so unfavorable, that it did not induce others to visit it. The zeal for discovery was repressed by apprehension of the suffering, labor and peril, which were to be encountered in making the attempt. This timid inactivity did not, however, long prevail. The spirit of enterprise was not extinguished, although it was for a time inactive.

From the narrative of Filson, it is to be inferred that the attempt of Doctor Walker to explore Kentucky was made several years subsequently to the period, which has just been named. After mentioning the first visit of Daniel Boone to that country, which occurred in 1769, and his return home in 1771, Filson relates, that Kentucky having 'about this period' attracted the attention of several persons, Doctor Walker, with other individuals, undertook a tour of discovery towards the west, for the purpose of visiting the Ohio; and that, subsequently, he and General Lewis purchased from the Five Nations of Indians the lands lying on the north side of Kentucky. It is probable that Filson is mistaken in the date of Walker's undertaking; this appears by reference to a document prefixed to the first volume of Marshall's History, in which it is said, that Doctor Walker first arrived in Kentucky in 1750, and made a second visit to it in 1760, when he advanced as far as Dick river. There is a discrepancy between all the dates given by the three authorities which have been referred to in this article, as those at which the expedition of Walker occurred. The first period, mentioned in the preliminary paper attached to Marshall's History, is eight years earlier than that which is assigned by Marshall himself, as the date of Walker's enterprise; and the second, two years later. The time when his visit is said by Filson to have occurred, is twenty-one years after the first, and eleven years after the second date given in the introductory paper just alluded to, and thirteen years later than the period named by Marshall.

It is sufficient for those who may feel an interest in the subject now under consideration, to be convinced of the fact, that Doctor Walker was one of the earliest and most enterprising

explorers of Kentucky. His well merited fame, as an adventurous traveller or discoverer, will not be impaired in the estimation of those who candidly investigate his claims, by either antedating or advancing a few years the period of his journey.

While Spotswood was Governor of Virginia, there is reason for believing that he had formed an opinion relative to the nature of the level country situated between the Alleghany mountains and the Mississippi. It is supposed, that he conceived a plan for bringing it under the dominion of the British crown; but, not being supported in his design by the Government, nothing was effected towards its execution, and the country continued to be known only from its situation on the English maps.

In 1739, a war commenced between Great Britain and Spain, subsequently to which Spotswood, then a private gentleman, was placed in command of the colonial troops. He was induced to believe that his project of taking possession of the country on the Ohio was soon to be accomplished, and it is surmised, that in carrying it into effect, he would have been supported by many of the inhabitants of Virginia. His death, which occurred soon afterwards, delayed its execution. During the war between Great Britain and France, which began about the year 1756, a number of colonists visited the upper waters of the Ohio, and by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, the possession of Fort Pitt was granted to the British crown. But, no efforts had yet been made to explore or occupy Kentucky. Either a prohibition existed against forming settlements on the western waters, or the establishment of them was permitted exclusively to the Ohio company, whose designs in relation to them were restricted to the north-western parts of Virginia, from which they were extended, with the late acquisitions of territory, as far as Fort Pitt.

But little information had been obtained respecting Kentucky, previously to the year 1767. At that period it was visited by Finley and his associates, as has already been stated. They were delighted with the appearance of the country; but the account which they gave of it on their return home, although it excited considerable attention, did not immediately induce other adventurers to traverse its immense and gloomy forests. In 1769, however, two years after the return of

Finley to North Carolina, Kentucky was visited by some of the first explorers, accompanied by Daniel Boone, whom Finley attended as a guide; his own departure from the country, whither he had formerly gone in another capacity, having been occasioned by disputes existing between the Indians and the traders. Boone and his party continued longer in the country than Finley and his companions had remained there, and prosecuted their researches through its different portions more extensively. Proceeding in a westerly direction, they persevered in a long and fatiguing progress over a mountainous and forest region, until they reached the bounds of the territory which was the object of their expedition. Boone and Finley, having left some of their party in encampment, and detached others in search of game, set out upon a tour through the country, the appearance of which exceeded their expectations. Notwithstanding, however, the favorable auspices under which their enterprise had commenced, the travellers were discouraged by the difficulties to which they were subjected, and were all dispersed or killed by the Indians, with the exception of Boone, who, having protracted his residence in the country until 1771, at that time returned to his home on the Yadkin river, in North Carolina. The adventurous daring with which he prosecuted his design of establishing a permanent settlement in this dreary and inhospitable land, and the vicissitudes of fortune to which he was exposed in his wanderings through it, impart to his history a degree of interest which is rarely attached to the annals of human enterprise, and cast around his character a romantic lustre, which does not often distinguish the personages of real life. A detailed account of his various achievements, which may be derived from his personal narrative, is well worthy of perusal by his countrymen, to whom his name should be endeared by the numerous and valuable services which he has rendered them. His own simple statement furnishes the most graphic and agreeable account of the scenes and events which he witnessed, and in which he was a distinguished actor.

The description given of the country by Imlay, is as flattering as that which Boone has furnished. He is enthusiastic in his admiration of it, and considers it as a land of Arcadian happiness and beauty.

Impulse and encouragement continued to be given to the desire for adventure and emolument, which had been excited

in the bold spirits, who hoped to realise its ample gratification in the extensive regions of the West. The rumor of the discovery of Kentucky was circulated in the western part of Virginia, in 1770. The settlers on New Holston and Clinch rivers were roused to action. An association, composed of about forty persons, was formed, for the purpose of trapping and hunting west of the Cumberland mountain, which they passed at the gap that has already been referred to in this article. Nine of this party, led on by Colonel James Knox, advanced into Kentucky, and were designated as the *Long Hunters*, from the circumstance of their prolonged absence from home. The residue of the association did not obtain a view of the country, having been either cut off by the Indians, or deterred from proceeding on their expedition by their apprehensions of the peril and difficulties which they anticipated. Knox and his small party pursued a course north of west, visited the country south of the Kentucky river, and, continuing to advance by an irregular, but extensive route, obtained a knowledge of Cumberland and Green rivers. On their return home, they communicated the information which they had acquired relative to the country, and other individuals were excited by their representations to try their fortune in the new scene which had been opened for adventure. No information of Knox and Boone having met during their respective researches in Kentucky, has been handed down by tradition, or otherwise.

By the treaty of 1763, Great Britain acquired the right of territorial sovereignty over the country eastward of the Mississippi, including Kentucky, to which France had previously asserted a paramount claim. The transfer of the authority over this territory from the French to the British Government, rendered more easy the migration to it of British colonists from the Atlantic frontier. Western lands had been appropriated as a compensation for services rendered by the officers and soldiers, who were attached to the Virginia forces in the war prosecuted by Great Britain against Canada. These circumstances had an immediate effect in promoting the discovery and settlement of the country on the Ohio. On that part of the great Kanhawa, called New River, explorations and settlements had been made by emigrants from Virginia, and surveys of some of these bounty lands were made on the banks of that stream in 1772. In 1773, surveyors

were instructed to lay out bounty lands on the Ohio. They descended that river from Fort Pitt to the 'Rapids,' in 38 degrees 8 minutes of north latitude. From that point they diverged in their course, explored the adjacent lands situated in Kentucky for a considerable distance and in various directions, 'executed surveys on several salt-licks and other choice places, and returned home delighted with the country.' General Thompson, of Pennsylvania, about the same time, passed down the Ohio to the mouth of Cabin creek, and made extensive surveys, including the fertile lands on the north fork of Licking river. Another party of surveyors, pursuing the route which had been chosen by their predecessors in the previous year, arrived at the Rapids, traversed the country on both sides of the Kentucky river to Elkhorn on the north, and Dick's river on the south, and made occasional surveys in their progress.

No permanent settlement had yet been effected in the country. In 1774, James Harrod erected a cabin at a place which was afterwards called Harrodsburg. Hostilities were waging between the Indian tribes north-west of the Ohio and the inhabitants of Virginia. A severe action was fought by the adverse forces at the mouth of the great Kanhawa, in which the Virginians were victorious, and they gave to the ground which had been the scene of the conflict, the name of Point Pleasant. Soon after this event, Governor Dunmore, who commanded the main body of militia which had not been engaged in the action, advanced into the territory of the Indians and concluded a treaty with them. A few permanent settlements were formed in 1775. Emigrants, the greater part of whom were from Virginia, established themselves at Harrodsburg and Logan's Camp, subsequently named St. Asaph's. The accounts of the country which had been disseminated by Finley and his associates, and corroborated by Boone, were circulated in North Carolina, and excited great attention.

Colonel Richard Henderson and others, impressed with very favorable expectations of the emolument which might probably be derived from a possession of the country on the south side of the Kentucky river, resolved to purchase it from the Cherokee Indians, whose claims to the soil extended to the Tennessee. The purchase was intended to be made a colorable pretext for assuming actual possession, and the settlement and occupancy of the lands were to be effected by force.

The company, of which Henderson was the principal, made a treaty with the natives at Wataga, in March, 1775, completed the purchase for goods valued at six thousand pounds, obtained a deed, and in the same year took possession at Boonsborough, which had been so named in honor of Daniel Boone. They opened an office for the sale of the lands, thus acquired, and of which they considered themselves the legal proprietors. Their opinions in relation to the legality of their title were, however, erroneous. The report of their proceedings excited great dissatisfaction in Virginia. That Colony, in consequence of being under the control of the British crown, or engaged in the dispute which existed between the parent State and a part of her Provincial dependencies in North America, had not bestowed much attention upon Kentucky. But when, in 1776, the Declaration of Independence was made, Virginia insisted that her territorial supremacy was, of right, to be exercised over the entire extent of country included within the limits established by the royal charter, granted by James the First, and bearing date the 23d of May, 1609. She alleged that these limits extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, and asserted the exclusive right of purchasing the lands comprised within those limits, from the aboriginal proprietors. In pursuance of the right thus claimed, the Legislature of Virginia declared the purchase made by Henderson and his associates null and void, so far as it affected that State, but valid for the purpose of extinguishing the Indian title, which, in consequence of this legislative act, vested solely in Virginia. But it was deemed an act of public justice towards Henderson and his companions, to offer them compensation for the lands thus transferred from them to the Government, by which the permanent title had been claimed and maintained. A grant of two hundred thousand acres, constituting a part of the same lands was, therefore, made to them. This grant, which was situated at the junction of Green river with the Ohio, was satisfactory to the grantees; and the settlers in other parts of the country, who had derived their titles from them, acquiesced in the right claimed by Virginia, and concurred in considering her authority as the proper source of the titles by which they held their lands, and of the means which might be required for their own protection. The Legislature of Virginia, meantime, gave their confirmatory sanction to a purchase which had been made from the Six Nations by Col-

onel Donaldson, and which included the country north of the Kentucky river. The Indian title to all that part of Kentucky situated north of the Tennessee river, was now extinguished by purchase, and the territorial authority of Virginia extended to the Ohio, eight hundred miles distant from the Atlantic.

A circumstantial detail of all the dangers and difficulties to which the first white settlers of the country were exposed, of the conflicts which they waged with a ferocious enemy, and of the individual adventures which many of them achieved, is not within our present purpose. The fairest and most enduring monument which could be reared to perpetuate the memory of their toils, their sufferings, and their perils, is seen in the magnificent edifice of an independent commonwealth, which their exertions have built up, and which will remain as an imperishable memorial of their fame.

Almost incessantly surrounded and watched by the savage aborigines of the forest, who were jealous of their natural rights to the soil, and resolute in defence of them, these devoted pioneers of civilization found little relaxation from the labors and dangers which were incident to their situation.

To relieve the frontier settlements from the danger with which they were menaced by the almost unremitted inroads of the savages, an expedition was proposed by General George Rogers Clark, against the aggressors. In September, 1782, a body of volunteers, amounting to one thousand men, assembled on the Ohio, and marched under the orders of Clark, against the Indian towns on the Miami and Scioto. The expedition was successful, and from the period at which it was effected, Kentucky was exempted from encroachment by any large force of hostile savages. The military positions of Kaskaskias and Vincennes had been attacked and taken by General, then Colonel Clark, in 1778.

Although harassed by the sanguinary enemy, who were inflexible in their resolution to expel from the soil of their fathers all whom they considered as intruders upon it, the country of Kentucky made steady, but slow advances in improvement. In the summer of 1779, preparations were made by several families, who resided in the interior of Virginia, to establish themselves in Kentucky. Their determination to migrate to that country, is believed to have been attributable to the law passed by the Legislature of Virginia relative to lands situated in the Kentucky district, which still constituted a

part of the parent State. That law provided for the appointment of commissioners by the Governor, with the advice of the Council of State, who were authorized to hear and determine all controversies concerning claims to land. They were empowered to grant certificates of settlement and preemption to those who might establish such claims. One of the courts, composed of these commissioners, was invested with exclusive jurisdiction over the district of Kentucky, which then constituted a single county.

The informal and vague language in which the certificates of the grants were drawn, furnishes a monitory example of the want of caution with which the titles to real property are conveyed and protected in a country of recent discovery, where the legal and indispensable muniments that constitute the best evidence of right, are disregarded, or considered as not essential to its security. That the want of exact, if not technical descriptions of the property thus placed in uncertain possession by these certificates, has been a fertile source of anxiety, as well as of tedious and expensive litigation in Kentucky, we may well believe. The evils which must have resulted from it, should admonish legislative power to guard against the creation or recurrence of the disasters which a disregard of definite terms in land-titles almost invariably produces.

On the first of November, 1780, the county of Kentucky was divided into three counties, designated by the names of Jefferson, Fayette and Lincoln. From that period until the new counties were organized, entries and surveys of land were suspended. The three counties were to constitute the 'District of Kentucky,' and a court, invested with common law and chancery jurisdiction, was established within its limits.

With a liberality, which merits high commendation, Virginia, in 1781, offered to cede to the United States, the whole of that part of her territory comprised within her charter, and situated on the north-western side of the Ohio. Simultaneously, she stipulated certain terms as the conditions of the proposed cession. These were acceded to by Congress in the same year, and a formal deed was executed by the representatives in Congress, from Virginia, on behalf of the State, and accepted by that body in 1784. The rights of soil and dominion were transferred to the Federal Government, subject to the condition, under which they were granted and accepted, that certain specified individual rights should be secured, the payment of

expenses incident to obtaining actual possession, guarantied, and that the States which might be erected within the relinquished territory, should be based upon republican principles.

Preliminary articles of peace had been signed at Paris, between the United States and Great Britain, on the 30th of November, 1782; but information of that fact was not received in Kentucky before the spring of 1783. The establishment of definite boundaries for the district, was considered by its inhabitants as inferior in importance only to the acknowledgment of the national independence, and excited a great degree of interest. The claim of the Federal Government was extended, both by conquest and charter, to the eastern bank of the Mississippi. With considerable anxiety, France and Spain had observed the existence of this claim; one of these powers being in possession of a vast territory on the Mississippi, and both of them holding islands in the seas with which that river communicates. By an article of the treaty of Paris, all the fortified posts, which had previously been held by Great Britain within the acknowledged limits of the United States, were to be delivered up to our Government. It was supposed, that the possession of these posts by the British crown, gave it a great influence over the Indian tribes, who had been accustomed to obtain from them their warlike supplies, and that the surrender of them to the United States would transfer that influence to this country. The surrender was delayed a considerable period beyond the time when, in the opinion of many of the inhabitants of Kentucky, it ought to have been executed. Great dissatisfaction was occasioned among them, in consequence of the presumed violation of that part of the treaty in which the delivery of the posts was stipulated.

Another cause of complaint in the district was the alleged infraction of the treaty on the part of the British Government, by the exportation of negroes from the United States. Congress adopted resolutions directing the transmission of copies of letters and other papers on the subject, which had passed between the commander-in-chief and Sir Guy Carleton, to the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States for negotiating a peace in Europe. The Plenipotentiaries were directed to present a remonstrance to the Government of Great Britain in relation to the asserted infraction of the treaty, and to adopt measures appropriate to the circumstances of the case. These instructions were executed, but without effect; and the British

Government declined all interference to prevent the blacks from being taken out of the country. It was alleged by that Government, that, according to the rules which govern belligerent States, they had the right to retain possession of the negroes, who had been captured during the existence of hostilities; that all the blacks who had been sent out of the country 'were taken in the course of the war;' that, therefore, they were not included in the terms of the treaty, which was intended to *protect* only those belonging to both the contracting parties, who had *not been taken*, not to restore such 'as had been reduced to possession.'

The application of the belligerent principle asserted by the British was not admitted by the American claimants, who insisted on their right, as proprietors, to the negroes in question.

The disregard of the treaty on the part of Great Britain, inferred from these circumstances, produced much excitement in Kentucky, which was believed to be peculiarly affected by the presumed breach of faith. The detention of the posts was a subject of special animadversion. By the direction of General Washington, a correspondence was opened between Baron Steuben, Mr. Clinton, Governor of New York, and General Haldimand, the British commander in Canada, relative to the delivery of the posts agreeably to the provision of the treaty. General Haldimand replied to the application for the surrender of the posts, that he had received from his Government no instructions for such surrender, and declined entering into any arrangement on the subject; and thus terminated the correspondence and the prosecution, at that time, of the object with which it had been commenced.

To the causes which have already been enumerated, as those which tended to excite discontent among the people of Kentucky, were added others, originating in the alleged obstruction of the Mississippi. The uninterrupted navigation of that river was considered to be of great importance to the western country, and from its enjoyment, Kentucky anticipated the most important advantages. Previously to 1787, but little discussion had arisen on the subject in that part of the country. An association, which assumed the style of 'A Committee of Correspondence in the Western part of Pennsylvania,' in an address to the people of the district of Kentucky, declared that a proposition had been made by Mr. Jay, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to Gardoqui, the Spanish Agent

in the United States, to cede the navigation of the Mississippi to Spain, for twenty-five or thirty years. The committee averred that this cession was to be made 'in consideration of some commercial advantages to be granted to the United States, but such as the people of the western country could derive no profit from.'

The intelligence which this communication conveyed, occasioned much alarm among those to whom it was addressed. It was viewed as evidence of a design to deprive them of the benefits incident to the free navigation of the Mississippi; and, by some who had a special interest in magnifying the impending evil, it was asserted that Congress designed to relinquish to Spain the exclusive right of navigating the river. A circular letter was addressed to the different courts in Kentucky, signed by George Muter, Harvey Innis, John Brown, and Benjamin Sebastian, in which they declared that they had been directed by 'a respectable number of the inhabitants of the district,' convened at Danville, to address the inhabitants on the western waters respecting the measures which the district ought to adopt in relation to the proceedings of Congress, on the proposition to cede the navigation of the Mississippi to Spain.

Whether such a proposition was ever made, may at least be doubted. But there is an evident inconsistency between the circular, and the allegation preferred by the Pennsylvania committee. It substitutes Congress for the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and thus attaches to the proposition itself a greater importance, and a character more national, than it would have possessed had it been made by a mere subordinate ministerial functionary. Whatever was the source whence the allegation originated, or the degree of credence to which it was entitled, it is certain that the belief of the proposition having been made, produced a violent sensation in Kentucky. The excitement was not confined to the district. The General Assembly of Virginia, in November, 1786, had taken into consideration the subject of the Mississippi navigation, in reference to the allegations contained in the circular. Their attention was directed to it, by a remonstrance presented by some individuals, residing within the western territory of Virginia, who preferred an application for relief from legislative authority, to the convocation of a convention.

The question relative to the expediency of seceding from Virginia, and establishing a separate government, was agitated

with much earnestness in Kentucky. During the sessions of the August courts, in 1787, five delegates were elected from each county, who were to assemble in convention at Danville, on the first Monday of September, to decide upon the propriety of erecting a distinct, independent government for the district. The convention met and decided unanimously, that it was expedient for the district to be separated from Virginia 'upon the terms and conditions prescribed by law.' An address was presented by the convention to Congress, soliciting the admission of the district into the Federal Union, under the name of 'The State of Kentucky.'

The Federal Constitution, formed in 1787, was submitted to the people of the United States for their confirmation. The subject was one of momentous importance, and excited intense interest in Kentucky. Of those who were opposed to the adoption of the constitution, the advocates for the separation of the district from Virginia by violence, appear to have been the most numerous and zealous. They employed against the instrument, of which they thus disapproved, the same reasons which have been so frequently urged by the devoted adherents of the rights of the States, to evince the danger of rendering them subordinate to a supreme, controlling power, vested in the concentrated body of the Union. They contended, that the establishment of this constitution would endanger these rights, as well as the personal liberty of the people; and that it invested the General Government with too much power to be consistent with the force which each member of it should possess.

Nothing is more susceptible of demonstration than the fallacy of these objections.

The apprehensions which were avowed by the opponents of the constitution in relation to the undue preponderance which the Federal Government might exercise over the States, have been either dissipated or confuted. The opinions of those, who wished to invest the States with rights and powers, inconsistent with the prosperous existence of the Union, have been overthrown by experience and fact. These have shown the accuracy of the sentiments entertained by the early and illustrious advocates of the Constitution,—that the power which it bestowed on the General Government was not greater than is required for its efficient operation,—that, from the very nature of its organization, it can never encroach upon the constitu-

tional rights of the States,—and that more danger is to be apprehended of the aggressions of these upon the Federal power, than from any probable attempts which that power may make upon their defined and recognised authority.

The excitement which prevailed in Kentucky on the subject of the proposed Constitution was, no doubt, dictated by such feelings as the nature of the contemplated political structure was calculated to inspire. The principles upon which the national edifice was to be founded were different, in their essential character, from any that had hitherto constituted the elements of a confederated State. It was necessary that popular rights and popular influence should be reconciled with the exercise of prompt, energetic, and constitutional supremacy, by a central power, deriving its entire authority from the people, and returning, in its collected force, upon themselves.

The people of the district, at their county elections, in April, 1785, chose delegates to meet in convention, in May of that year, for the purpose of deciding on the expediency of applying to the General Assembly of Virginia for an act of separation. The convention assembled at Danville, on the 23d of May, 1785.

It is a remarkable incident in the history of Kentucky, that this convention recognised and adopted, by a unanimous vote, the principle of equal representation by numbers. This principle was contrary to that contained in the constitution of Virginia, which established a representation by counties, without regard to population or extent. It was advocated, as a salutary provision, by those who considered it as of essential importance in the form of a government, of which equality of rights constituted a fundamental principle.

The application of the people of the district for a separation from Virginia was successful. In January, 1786, the Legislature of that State passed an act authorizing the separation, and prescribing the conditions on which it was to be effected.

The act requires an election of representatives by the free male inhabitants of the district, to decide upon the expediency of its establishment as an independent State, on certain terms, which are specified. The boundary between Virginia and the proposed State was to remain the same, as that which had separated the district from the residue of the State. The new State was to assume the payment of part of the debt due by Virginia. All private rights and interests in lands, within the

district, derived from the laws of Virginia, previously to the separation, were to be secured by the proposed State, and determined according to the laws of the original community. Lands within the State belonging to non-residents, were not to be taxed higher than those of residents, at any time prior to the period when it should be entitled to a vote by its delegates in Congress, provided such non-residents were out of the United States. Such lands were not to be so taxed at any time, either before or after that period, if the non-resident proprietors resided in Virginia, with which this stipulation was to be reciprocal; or in any of the United States, by which such stipulation should be declared reciprocal within their limits. Neglect to cultivate or improve land within either Virginia or the proposed State, belonging to non-residents, was not to subject such non-residents to forfeiture or any other penalty, within the term of six years after the admission of the district as a State into the Union. No grant of land or land warrant, to be issued by the proposed State, was to interfere with any warrant issued from the Land Office of Virginia before the separation, if such warrant or grant were executed on land within the district, on or before the first of September, 1788. Military lands, appropriated by Virginia to the benefit of individuals or classes of individuals, were to continue subject to the disposition of that commonwealth until the first of September, 1788, and after that time, such of them as might be within the proposed State, were to be subject to its own disposition. The use and navigation of the Ohio river, within the limits of the proposed State and of Virginia, were to be free and common to the citizens of the United States, and a concurrent jurisdiction was to exist between both those States and other States situated on the respective sides of the river. Any complaint or dispute which might arise between Virginia and the district after its erection into an independent State, relative to the meaning or execution of the provisions here enumerated, was to be determined by six commissioners, two of whom were to be chosen by each of the parties, and the remainder by the commissioners thus chosen.

It was stipulated, that if the convention should approve of the erection of the district into an independent State on these terms, they should fix a day posterior to the first of September, 1787, on which the authority of Virginia over the new State, with the foregoing exceptions, was to terminate, and the

articles of separation were to become a solemn compact, binding on both parties, provided that, prior to the first of June, 1787, Congress should erect the district into an independent State, and release Virginia from its federal obligations, resulting from such erection.

A convention, agreeably to the requisition of the legislative act just referred to, assembled, and chose George Muter its President. The expediency of erecting the district into a separate State, on the terms specified by the act, was agreed upon. These terms were formally accepted by the convention. The first day of June, 1792, was designated as the period when the district was to become independent of Virginia, and the articles of separation were at that time to be considered as a compact obligatory on the people of Kentucky.

Elections were held in December, 1791, for members of a convention, which was to assemble on the first Monday of the ensuing April, at Danville, to form a constitution for the State of Kentucky. The State had been admitted into the Union on the fourth of February, of the same year. At the time prescribed for holding the convention, that body assembled and framed a constitution for the State, which was superseded in 1799, by another instrument, under which the State Government is now in operation.

The view which has been presented in this article of the 'History of Kentucky,' is from necessity, very cursory. We have been compelled to restrict it within the period at which the first settlement of Kentucky was effected, and that at which the State assumed its independent rank among the members of our great political society. Subsequently to that period, many occurrences connected with the history of the State, and of great interest to its citizens, have taken place, which, from the excitement they produced and the influence they exercised, are well deserving of regard.

In contemplating the past history of Kentucky, there is ample cause of gratification to its citizens, and no less ample cause of hope for the future. Within a few years, what revolutions have not been accomplished in the appearance of external nature, and in moral and intellectual condition! Arts, science, literature,—the institutions of enlightened political society; the refined enjoyments of domestic life; the security of property, and the inducements for exertion, which it is inces-

santly strengthening and extending, are all results of that one great principle, for which the age is becoming more and more distinguished,—the acknowledgement of the right of every human being to advance his own happiness, without infringing that of others.

The work of improvement is however not yet completed. The spirit which has so long slumbered over the degradation and moral ruin of the old world, is just awaking. Its efforts may for a time be resisted, and its onward course retarded by the desperate struggles of the policy which has been directed against the rights and the happiness of many, to preserve the supposed interests of a few. But its triumph must, and will come. There is no strength which can successfully contend long with the energies of the enlightened, when supported by intrepidity and virtue. In our own country, their effects have been evinced by the rapidity with which it has advanced towards the ultimate and only valuable object of civil and political institutions, the happiness of the people. And in no part of our extensive territory has their influence been more perceptible or salutary, than in the West. Under their impulse, men have there proceeded with firm, undeviating step, in the course which is to lead them to the enjoyment of all that can be attained by human power, or should be desired in the present state of being. They have established governments, which, while their subordination to one central and controlling power is willingly conceded, have, within themselves, the vital principle by which their permanence is rendered secure. In the pursuit of the objects which they contemplate, as members of the great political confederacy, they are never unmindful of the duty which they owe to that supreme authority, but make all temporary and all sectional interests subservient to its control.

From such devotion to the general weal, guided and sustained by such moral and intellectual force as has hitherto attended it, what may not be anticipated for the republic? With the exhaustless resources of every kind which physical nature has lavished on the West, what prosperity is too brilliant to be predicted as its destiny? Its citizens have only to persevere in the career, which they have opened for themselves and so successfully pursued, in order to deserve and obtain the high praise of having contributed to the attainment of that final and best object of virtuous ambition,—national greatness, unsullied by national guilt.

Art. II.—*Cousin's Philosophy.*

Cours de Philosophie. Par M. V. Cousin, Professeur de Philosophie à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. *Introduction à l'Histoire de la Philosophie.* Paris. 1828.

We propose to offer in the present article a sketch of the philosophy of Victor Cousin, one of the most distinguished metaphysicians of the day, and to inquire what he has done for the advancement of intellectual science. Has he merely affixed his name to another of those ingenious fictions, called systems of philosophy, which will reign for a season and then be supplanted? Does he only present us the ideas of his predecessors newly arranged? Or, has he added to them something of his own, which essentially helps the cause? His genius, alike brilliant and profound, has given an attraction to the subject of metaphysics, altogether unprecedented in the annals of philosophy. Since the year 1828,—when he returned to the professorial chair, after a long absence,—his lectures have been attended by crowds not merely of the learning, but the fashion of Paris. We cannot expect in a brief outline of these lectures, to impart an idea of the beauty and eloquence of their style; for this we must refer the reader to the work itself, which will well reward perusal. Those who do not adopt the system of Cousin, or are not prepared to admit with him, that intellectual philosophy is the culminating point, '*le dernier mot*' of humanity, cannot fail to admire the profoundness of his views, the extent of his learning, his fearless but catholic spirit, his reverence for religion and his just respect for humanity. From a profound analysis of the human mind he has elaborated the thread, which is to conduct him through the labyrinth of systems and schools; while his soaring genius, rising above all the particulars of periods or sects, comprehends in its splendid generalization, not the actual merely, but the possible, and embraces in one vast idea, God, man and the universe.

Although the philosophy of mind is so unsettled, yet it is generally admitted that the mission of the philosopher is to describe and arrange what in some form or other is already known, and to elicit the truth from the various disguises and fallacies by which it is concealed. This eclectic principle is adopted by Cousin as the essential character of his philosophy. He attaches himself to no school, he invokes not the genius of any one great mind,

but the genius of philosophy alone. It is with him a fundamental maxim, that every system which has been believed must contain some truth, that the mind of man is so constituted, that it never assents to any proposition wholly destitute of truth. That a small portion of truth has given currency to monstrous errors is a fact, which, far from rendering us skeptical as to the reality of truth, only illustrates its value.

'Ce que j'enseigne, ce n'est pas telle ou telle philosophie, mais la philosophie elle-même, ce n'est pas l'attachement à tel ou tel systeme, si grand qu'il puisse être, l'admiration de tel ou tel homme, quelqu'ait été son genie, mais l'esprit philosophique, supérieur à tous les systemes et à tous les philosophes, c'est à dire l'amour sans bornes, de la vérité ou qu'elle se rencontre, l'intelligence de tous les systemes qui pretendent la posseder tout entiere, et qui en possedent au moins quelque chose, et le respect de tous les hommes qui l'ont cherchée et qui la cherchent encore avec talent et loyauté. La vraie muse de l'historien de la philosophie n'est pas la haine, mais l'amour; et la mission de la critique n'est pas seulement de signaler les extravagances très réelles et très nombreuses des systemes philosophiques, mais de démêler et de dégager du milieu de ces erreurs, les vérités qui peuvent et qui doivent y être mêlées, et par la, de revéler la raison humaine à ses propres yeux, d'absoudre la philosophie dans le passé, de l'enhardir et de l'éclairer dans l'avenir.'

Cousin's plan embraces the whole history of philosophy in every age and nation, its leading minds and various systems. No one system, he says, can be fully comprehended without an acquaintance with all the consequences which may be fairly charged upon it, the causes which influenced its developement, and a view of its relation to the period to which it belongs. In conformity with this eclectic principle, an account of every system is the broad base on which only should be raised the structure of intellectual science. He assumes, that all the problems which the human mind can propose to itself have been successively advanced, and that the various modes by which they have been solved, or attempted to be solved, have given birth to numerous philosophical theories, which may all be referred to two schools, the sensual and the ideal. To the first belong those systems which derive all our knowledge from the senses, to the second those which derive it from the intellect. To these he afterwards added two others, the skeptical and the mystical,—they are the extremes, to which the two original systems tend, and at which

they always arrive. Each system which has prevailed, owes its temporary success to the truth contained in it, but being founded on a partial view of the mental phenomena,—although offered as complete,—it fails to explain the whole, and thus generates doubt, and at last skepticism. But the mind cannot remain in a state of unbelief. Distrusting its reasoning powers, whose insufficiency it has experienced, it takes refuge in faith and is carried to the extreme of mysticism. As each of these schools has been adopted, they must all contain some truth ; but truth is one, and as there have been four schools, neither contained the whole truth, but each, with the element of truth which secured its adoption, involved some element of error. These four divisions comprehend the whole field of intellectual philosophy, and are the foundation of the arrangement, under which our author treats its history. The lectures delivered in the year 1829, commence with a preliminary sketch of ancient philosophy, and then proceed to the history of the sensual school of the eighteenth century. Those of the preceding year are occupied with an analysis of the understanding, with a view to ascertain the laws which regulate its operations.

The history of philosophy is the history of human reason, and therefore supplies the materials and the tests of intellectual science. The individual examination of mind affords, however, the most certain knowledge; there we have actual experience of the phenomena in question. But the internal vision is liable to be disturbed and obscured by the false media through which we look, and even by the nearness and familiarity of the objects ; both methods are therefore adopted by Cousin, and he believes that the results of his internal investigation are every where confirmed by the testimony of history.

At the commencement of his course, he undertakes to prove that philosophy is an essential element in our nature, that its history is not a mere record of arbitrary imaginations and chimeras, but a necessary result of a real demand of the mind; not the reveries of a few men of genius, propagated and maintained by their authority, but a legitimate offspring of the human constitution. The various modes in which men are found to act are by him referred to five different heads ; utility or industry, justice, art, religion and philosophy. As soon as man appears upon the earth, he finds that without a knowledge and control of the laws of the natural world, his frail existence cannot be secured for a moment. He observes the properties of the

objects around him, and models them to his use. The earth is originally only a basis, the matter for the labors of man; its present value and perfection are the result of his labors, and are nothing less than the creation of a new world. Such are the effects of science and industry. Besides those actions which have the character of being useful or hurtful, we observe others which are just or unjust. Justice is the basis of civil or political society. This does not regard the whole of human nature, but confines itself to outward actions; and does not so much protect as regulate liberty. Individually considered, men are not equal; one surpasses another in talents and strength; but civil society, when it places all on the same footing before the law, establishes, thus far, a perfect equality.

'L'idée du juste est une des gloires de la nature humaine, l'homme l'aperçoit d'abord, mais il ne l'aperçoit que comme un éclair dans la nuit profonde des passions primitives; il la voit sans cesse violée, et à tout moment effacée par le desordre necessaire des passions et des interêts contraires.'

The sentiment of the beautiful is naturally called forth by its appropriate objects. The mind perceives and welcomes the beauty diffused over every thing around us, disengages it from the imperfection in which it is immersed, and forms to itself an ideal beauty, surpassing any in the external world.

'La beauté de l'art est supérieure à la beauté naturelle, de toute la supériorité de l'homme sur la nature.'

But this world,—says our author,—so metamorphosed and remodelled by man, is not sufficient for him. His thoughts spring far beyond it,—powerful as he is, he yet conceives a higher power,—he perceives Deity. Worship is the developement, the realization of the sentiment of religion, and accomplishes its purpose by presenting the idea under some symbol or external form. But the mind cannot rest satisfied with symbols; it seeks, by analysis and examination, to comprehend the Deity contained in them. Thus reflection succeeds to faith. 'The first moment in which man reflects gives birth to philosophy.'

Philosophy includes the highest class of our intellectual operations. It presents in the form of general propositions, the results of the operations of the several distinct principles of utility, justice, beauty and religion.

'La philosophie ne coupe point á l'art ses ailes divines, mais elle le suit, dans son vol, mesure sa portée et son but.'

These views, if correct, should be confirmed by history, for human nature is manifested in the species, which exhibits the same elements as the individual, on a larger scale; and accordingly Cousin finds, after taking a survey of the whole course of history, that the philosophic element is more or less developed in every period.

In the East, philosophy appeared with the traits of infancy and enveloped in religion; passing thence into Greece, it gradually threw off the weight of authority and came forth from the hands of Socrates in its proper shape, as the spirit of inquiry, examination and reflection. In the middle ages, it was again brought under subjection. The characteristic of the scholastic philosophy was to keep within a circle, not marked out by itself, but imposed by ecclesiastical authority. That of the present age is the free use of reason, and the emancipation is now complete. The philosophic spirit, once introduced into the world, cannot be checked; the proportion of philosophers, viz. of those who reflect, increases with every age, and although philosophy is still in its infancy, we may look forward with confidence to its maturity. This, if not favorable to presumption, at least is so to hope.

'Car tout ce qu'on n'a pas derrière soi, on l'a devant soi, et il vaut mieux avoir de l'avenir que du passé.'

Having shown, that the philosophic element is a part, and the highest part of human nature, the author thence infers, that it will so appear in history, which is the image of human nature; for the history of philosophy is the history of the understanding, considered under all the circumstances in which it can be called to act. This history is both special and general; special, because it treats of only one part of our nature, the intellectual; and general, inasmuch as this part includes a variety of distinct faculties or forms, under which it operates.

As the history of philosophy is a special examination of our intellectual part, Cousin regards it as a necessary preliminary, to ascertain the elements of which this is composed. The understanding, like the other faculties, is developed before it is observed and examined. When it began to be reflected on, then philosophy began. It has been the object of all those philosophers who have left any trace in history, to give an account of the understanding, its nature, laws and rights; but a rigorous and scientific analysis of it has been only twice attempted; first by

Aristotle, and next by Kant. Cousin does not admit, that either of these philosophers has arrived at a perfect analysis; that they have discovered all the elements of the intellect, or all the relations between them.

'C'est quand nous aurons ces élémens, quand nous les aurons reduit, quand nous aurons saisi tous leurs rapports, que nous serons en possession des fondemens de la raison et de son histoire.'

Cousin therefore analyzes the mind anew. He begins by assuming what he thinks no one will deny, that human reason, whether applied to internal or external things, conceives under two ideas, which are the ultimate elements of thought,—unity and multiplicity. These two ideas have been recognized in all systems, and expressed by several terms, such as the necessary and the contingent, the absolute and the relative, the infinite and the finite, substance and phenomenon. A just analysis, in Cousin's opinion, identifies all the first and also all the second of these terms and reduces them to two, as vast as reason or even as the possible; viz. unity and multiplicity, or plurality. These arise in the mind simultaneously, or if multiplicity succeed unity, the succession is scarcely perceptible. Unity cannot act without generating plurality, viz. variety, and variety cannot be produced except by unity. The two are connected by the relation of cause, which relation is as necessary as the elements themselves;—from their existence, results all reality and life. These two terms, unity and plurality, express the ultimate points of Cousin's analysis, and together with the relation of cause, by which they are necessarily united, constitute,—to use his own words,—a triplicity which resolves itself into unity. This unity is intelligence or mind. It is,—says he,—the vice of both ancient and modern systems, that they separate unity from plurality, the infinite from the finite, so that the passage from the one to the other is impossible. But the absolute and the infinite must result in the relative and the finite, because the first is a cause and this relation is of its essence.

The union of the infinite with the finite by the relation of cause is the distinguishing trait of our author's theory, the bridge by which he crosses the hitherto impassable gulph.

Arrived at this sublime point, he adds, we have lost sight of earth; we can discern nothing but these three abstractions, unity, multiplicity and cause, which are the integral elements of human

reason, and also of the Divine intelligence. He proceeds to examine more at large the nature of these abstractions. Human reason is impersonal, that is, independent of our will. We can act or refrain from acting, but we cannot change a mathematical conception, we cannot make equality difference, or virtue vice; therefore personality consists in the will. Reason is absolute, universal, divine. Human reason is imperfect, because it is enveloped in a finite nature; but still it is a fragment of the pure incorruptible intellect,—the absolute reason, whose essence is always the same.

Ideas are not the products of intelligence, but intelligence itself; we cannot call them ours; they are not so much conceptions of human reason, as of that absolute reason of which ours is a part. They are only lent as it were to human reason, and their existence there is wholly intellectual. The condition of intelligence is not merely that it exist in the mind, but that it be developed, that is, we must be conscious of it, for intelligence without consciousness is merely the abstract possibility of intelligence. Now consciousness implies difference; thus unity, which is intelligence, necessarily results in variety; and that this is through the relation of cause, Cousin undertakes to shew, by a further examination.

In perceiving ourselves, we necessarily perceive something not ourselves, by which we are limited and controlled; this gives us the idea of the finite, that is, the limited; but the finite cannot arise in the mind without the idea of the infinite. The infinite is known only by its acts, hence we get the idea of cause. It is not in the power of man to destroy these three ideas, which are the foundation of all his consciousness. They are not an arbitrary production of human reason; they constitute that reason and what is true of that, is true also of absolute reason, a part of which it is. This absolute reason being of necessity a cause, must of necessity create; thus we are conducted from God to the universe, by creation.

The common idea of creation is, that something is made out of nothing. But the philosophers tell us, that nothing can come of nothing; whence it follows that creation is impossible, and since the world does actually exist, as it could not be created, it must be self-existent. Thus we have two self-existent principles.

But if we examine this idea of nothing, we shall find it to be a mere hypothesis, without proof. To create, is a thing not

difficult to conceive, for we create every time we will, we produce an effect which we ascribe to none other than ourselves. The act begins by virtue of the principle of causation, which exists in us, and is essential to mind. To cause, then,—according to Cousin,—is not to create out of nothing, but to exercise any inherent power. God creates from the power inherent in his nature; as He is absolute, to create in Him is necessary, and the difference between the creative power in man and God is, the general difference of an absolute and relative cause. In man, the creative power cannot pass the limit of his own mind, and is besides controlled by accidents without and within. Still it is creative power, and so far a type of divine creation.

The principle of causation is not exhausted by its effects, but retains all its potency and nature. The creation of the universe, though necessary, and a manifestation of God, does not exhaust the Deity, as when *we* will, it does not exhaust the power of willing.

The harmony of the universe proves the unity of God; but harmony is not unity, for it supposes variety. The whole world reflects God, that is, the elements of his divine essence, unity and variety; these pass into the world, and return thence to the consciousness of man; that is, are perceived and comprehended by him.

Thus, setting out from human nature, we ascend to God. Since mind is of one essence, it must in man be a portion of the Divinity. From God, who is of necessity a cause, we proceed to the world he has created. From creation we are brought back to humanity, as that which comprehends it and is the 'résumé' of all nature. In each we find the three ideas, unity, multiplicity and cause, which are the foundation of all things. The result,—at which the philosopher arrives on completing this circle of existence, human and divine,—is this grand truth, that history, which is the image of humanity, may be resolved into the same elements; whence it follows that there can be but three grand epochs in history, each of which is characterized by the prevalence of one of these elements over the other, and the degree in which one modifies the other.

Cousin further considers the development of reason as twofold,—spontaneous and reflective. The nature of universal truths, or rather of that power which recognizes them, is a point which has puzzled the metaphysical world not less than the passage from the infinite to the finite. That they are recognized

by the human mind is a fact which no one denies, but the philosophers wish to account for it, and in this they have not yet succeeded to their own satisfaction. Kant calls these elements of reason, subjective laws, that is, laws of the human mind ; but if they are subjective, or personal, we cannot,—says Cousin,—transport them out of ourselves ; and according to this theory, although the external world may be to us an invincible belief, it cannot be a separate existence ; and the same may be said of God. Cousin's explanation of this problem is the distinction of reason, as spontaneous and reflective. Spontaneity, according to him, is the power which reason has to seize truth at a grasp ; to comprehend and admit it without explanation. These truths are not personal, they do not belong to this or that mind, but they are universal,—of the essence of all mind. This involuntary perception of truth is, he says, accompanied with enthusiasm, and man ascribes it to God ; it is, in fact, a real revelation. It has been called inspiration, and is in all languages distinguished from reflection. This spontaneous reason, by the aid of analysis, that is, by a process of reflection, engenders those elements of human reason, which philosophers call categories. *Reflection* does not *give*, it only *explains* these, for these laws are universal, and reflection is personal. It must be acknowledged that reason operates in both these ways, and the only objection to the explanation from Cousin is, that almost in the same breath in which he describes reason as twofold, that is, spontaneous and reflective or liable to err, he affirms that it is impersonal, absolute and incapable of error. Nothing, he says, can be more impersonal than reason, and these universal truths are a part of, or constitute it. But if reason be defined to mean the power of apprehending universal truth, it cannot be used to express the whole development of mind.

His explanation does not differ essentially from that of Fichte, who also ascribes to the human mind a twofold nature, the absolute and the phenomenal. The root of the difficulty appears to us to lie in the identification of reason with universal truth. The perception of this truth does not necessarily impose universality on the percipient, neither does the fact that the percipient is finite, limit these truths to its own finite nature. It is an undoubted power of the human mind to attain more or less perfectly, to knowledge of something beyond itself. Though not secured from error, it can yet arrive at the conception of truth, and with all its frailty, recognize and adore perfection, and thus,

while bearing the marks of a created, and consequently a finite nature, it proves the Creator divine. Although we do not object to the terms spontaneity and reflection as designating two operations of human reason so different, as the perception of absolute and relative truth; yet this explanation does not solve the metaphysical problem,—in our opinion a mere chimera,—of the transportation of the laws of the human mind into the universe; or show satisfactorily, how the absolute and the impersonal can be, at the same time, the relative and personal, though we can readily admit, because experience proves it, that the human mind is so constituted, as to take in both these classes of ideas.

But to return to our author. The human mind, he says, contains in a latent state those divine rays, which reflection afterwards developes. These are the truths of spontaneity, and are the same to all. The vast variety and differences of mankind,—which are not to be denied, but explained,—arise from *reflection.* Spontaneity is uniform, but reflection is an element of difference. The condition of reflection is time, that is, succession. As reflection can only consider the elements of thought successively, it may take one to be the whole. This is the source of all error. But error can never be complete; reflection in its most extravagant wanderings may always be brought back, for it must have hold of some truth. Error does not consist in false, but in incomplete ideas; and every conception,—according to this system,—is true, excepting so far as it is taken for the whole truth.

'Nous sommes toujours dans le vrai, et en même tems nous sommes presque toujours dans le faux lorsque nous réfléchissons, parce que nous sommes presque toujours dans l'incomplet, et que l'incomplet est necessairement de la variété encore et déjà de l'erreur.'

If we apply the test of history to this principle, we shall find that it discloses the same unity and difference on a larger scale. The elements of human nature are developed successively; error is fugitive, while truth is universal and enduring.

With regard to the order of their development, Cousin says, that in the human mind, the elements appear at first confusedly, till reflection examines and separates them. The finite is always in the mind, for our first perception is of ourselves; but this idea, too weak at its commencement to absorb the others, is absorbed by the infinite, which being developed, its chance

of predominance is great. The obscurity which accompanies it adds to its power. Man loses himself in the contemplation of this infinite, which he knows he has not made.

'Le moi dans sa faiblesse, ne pouvant pas s'attribuer ces caracteres majestueux et terribles s'anéantit dans cette intuition formidable: l'humanité s'éclipse á ses propres yeux, en presence dé l'être qui seul est en possession de l'unité; de l'infinité, de la toute puissance, de l'éternité, de l'existence absolue.'

Man cannot begin by realizing that reason in him is but a part of this divine essence, but at length he feels his importance; the ravishing sentiment of power eclipses every other. Then comes the epoch of personality, of the finite. This will be an age of movement, of physical science, enterprise, liberty. When these two epochs have had their full course in every sphere, the third,—the perception of their relation, arrives. From this will result a more enlarged development, a more rational state of things.

This necessary order of succession conceals,—in Cousin's opinion,—an order more profound; the order of generation, for each epoch is modified by, and is the result of, the preceding. Thus the eternal elements of all things are found in history, which, according to this philosophy, is not merely a compendium of human nature, but of the universe.

'Que dis-je! l'histoire ne réfléchit pas seulement tout le mouvement de l'humanité, mais comme l'humanité est le résumé de l'univers, lequel est une manifestation de Dieu, il suit qu'en dernière analyse l'histoire n'est pas moins que le dernier contre-coup de l'action divine.—L'ordre admirable qui y regne, est un reflet de l'ordre eternel; la necessité de ses lois a pour dernier principe Dieu lui-même, Dieu considéré dans ses rapports avec le monde, et particulièrement avec l'humanité qui est le dernier mot du monde.

'Si l'histoire est le gouvernement de Dieu, rendu visible, tout est à sa place dans l'histoire; et si tout y est à sa place tout y est bien, car tout mene au but marqué, par une puissance bienfaisante.

'L'histoire ainsi conçu dans cette harmonie universelle est donc eminemment belle; elle est une poesie admirable, le drame ou l'épopée du genre humain.'

Regarded thus as a whole, the result of the necessary operation of wise and beneficent laws, ordained by an infinitely

perfect Being, history is not only beautiful and philosophical, but highly moral. We can conceive of Deity as being in his nature absolute and without any relation to this world, but such is not the God of humanity,—such is not the God revealed to us in the benevolence, the harmony, the justice of the universe. For, if there be a Providence apparent throughout all history, it must be by his regular laws. If nothing can exist except on the condition of its relation to God, every thing has its reason, and nothing is insignificant. The world of ideas is hid in the world of facts, and it is the mission of the philosopher to disengage and distinguish these ideas, to connect each fact, even the most particular, with some general law. The grand principle on which he must proceed, according to Cousin, is, that every place represents necessarily an idea, of consequence one of the three ideas into which all others may be resolved. This is the first rule of history, and, applied to the grand manifestations of each period, admits of three divisions, the place, the people, and individuals, or great men. Climate and country must be allowed to have an influence in determining the character of a people, unless we can believe that he who is consumed by the heat of the torrid zone, is called to the same destiny as he who inhabits the frozen deserts of Siberia. A vast continent, surrounded by the impassable ocean, divided by immense mountains, like Asia, is the place where we must look for the prevalence of the infinite; and here, in the commencement of history, we find the first epoch. The finite is an age of personality, it is developed in a land abounding in rivers, seas and facilities for inter-communication. The third requires a large continent in the temperate zone, possessing navigable waters and varied productions. This epoch is recent, and has scarcely passed its barbarous period. Although each epoch is marked by the prevalence of one idea, yet this does not exist alone, otherwise it would be a mere abstraction; other elements appear in a greater or less degree; hence the necessity of considering apart the several peoples comprehended in any one epoch, each of which exhibits some modification of the leading idea. Every nation has its own place and connexions in the grand system of humanity,—owes its character to the ages that preceded it, and bequeathes one to those which come after. The prevailing idea must pass through each of the spheres, industry, law, art, religion, and philosophy, before it has completed its work. Philosophy is the most important, and that which explains all the rest. The

history of philosophy, says Cousin, affords the light by which alone we can know and comprehend all other histories. While its generalisation contains not merely the most important truths, but all that can strictly be called truth.

'C'est la vérité abstraite qui fonde et legitime la vérité qui se rencontre dans le concret.

'Toute lumière comme toute vérité est dans l'abstraction, c'est-á-dire dans la reflexion, c'est-á-dire dans la philosophie.'

Thus we have only to consider the philosophy of each people in any given epoch, and raise it to its highest generalisation, to obtain the idea of this epoch.

This particular idea is always taken by each people for the whole. One truth appears after another, till at length all the elements of thought arrive at their complete development. Thus there is a continual struggle of opinions, for when one idea or people has performed its part in the great drama of humanity, it must yield to the next, and this cannot take place without a struggle. War therefore is, in the opinion of our author, inevitable, but is not to be regarded as an evil; since it conduces to that succession of ideas, which is the completion of human nature. Each people will conquer, will endure for a time, and having fulfilled its destiny, pass away and give place to the next; but humanity is superior to all epochs, outlives all, is perfected by all. Although each people, collectively considered, represents,—as Cousin expresses it,—an idea, that is, has a prevailing character, yet nations are made up of individuals, and some of these express more, others less, the general spirit of their age. Those who represent it most completely are its great men. They add to the general character their own individuality, which gives it life and reality. As they are the most perfect expression of the idea of their age, history treats only of them, and through them, represents the whole epoch. They are not only the expression but the result of their age, formed by it, as well as identified with it, and being the expression of humanity, which is the compendium of the universe,—to know them, is to know every thing. After great men,—says he,—there is nothing more to seek.

'Ainsi la nature réprésente Dieu, et comme la nature avec toutes ses lois se résume dans l'humanité, et que l'humanité avec toutes ses époques, se résume dans les grands hommes, il en resulte, avec une rigueur qui ne laisse rien à contester, que l'ordre des

choses ou plutôt le mouvement perpetuel des choses, n'est dans tous ses momens et dans tous ses degrés, que l'enfantement des grands hommes.'

This idea, that great men bear the stamp, and afford the truest specimen of their age, is both beautiful and just.

When formed, the great man is the instrument of a power not his own,—the idea of his time. When the moment for its appearance arrives, he comes, and remains only so long as he is needed. Cousin admits that this savors of fatalism, but,—he says,—great men have ever been fatalists, have regarded themselves as the instruments of destiny, as irresistible; and hence their success. The result of success is power, and men, when they have obtained power, often abuse it, but they would not hold it a moment were it not for sympathy with their age; hence the devotion paid to the great man. Mankind identify him with themselves, and have an irresistible conviction that he *is* the people, the epoch. The glory which crowns him is his due, for glory is the appropriate reward of great results.

'La gloire est le cri de la sympathie et de la reconnoissance, c'est la dette de l'humanité envers le génie, c'est le prix des services qu'elle lui paye avec ce qu'elle a de plus precieux, son estime.'

As their success commands our admiration, so does their fall excite our compassion; but we must remember that humanity always prevails, and although we give a sigh to the noble vanquished, we would not change their destiny, for that would be to retard the progress of humanity. It is the same with the philosopher and his systems. In the combats of philosophy, we find matter not of regret but encouragement; they indicate that humanity is preparing to take a new step, and confirm our faith in the excellence of human reason, which, in the conflicts of its great men, profits by their errors as well as their victories,

'qui n'avance que sur des ruines, mais qui avance incessament.'

As thought and action are the two most important manifestations of mind, the greatest men are philosophers and warriors; and as philosophy is the last and best form of humanity, and that which comprehends all the rest, its history is the completion of all history, the highest, the most comprehensive theme that can challenge and reward the labors of genius.

The idea of a universal history is recent, and even those histories which are called so, are restricted to a single department of human nature, as religion, law, or philosophy. The philosophical histories which have appeared in Germany, 'that land of classic lore,' though excellent as far as they go, represent only particular schools. Universal history, in Cousin's sense of it, has never been accomplished. It aims at nothing less than to seize the harmony of all things,—of nature, time and humanity. Such is the magnificent plan which this philosopher has conceived, and which he, if any one, seems able to fill up. Nothing can be foreign to his immense design; every department of physical or mental existence will supply its beam of truth to the torch which shall irradiate the path of history and consummate the science of mind. The eclectic principle is the polar star, which guides him in the vast career on which he has entered. He will examine every system and refer it to its true place, accept every truth and harmonize every contrariety. The two great schools, the sensual and the ideal, include every idea the mind can conceive,—and they have both been completely exhausted. Nothing can go beyond the sensualism of the school of Locke, the idealism of Kant and Fichte. The only remaining course,—as our author affirms,—unless the mind is destined to stop short in the nineteenth century, is, to reconcile and amalgamate the two, or rather the truths of each. Thus the eclectic philosophy is not only the best, the true, but the only possible philosophy.

Humanity is a grand topic. It is not an immovable picture, but a continued action of life and reality, whose periods and eras are all connected by the wisest relations, evolving the most beneficent effects. Nor is this all, for this immense development of created mind is but a single manifestation of that infinite and eternal mind, in whose essence all others are contained.

It must be acknowledged that the vastness, the optimism and the unity of this plan,—whatever may be thought of its practicability,—invest the subject with a sublimity and grandeur it has never before possessed, and raise the mind which contemplates it, in some measure, to the elevation of his, by whose genius it was conceived.

A point much insisted on by Cousin is the relation of cause, by which the difficulty of passing from the infinite to the finite is removed. There is no possible form of existence, which does not come under one or the other of these terms, which is not

either infinite or finite; the difference between them is radical. How can that which is finite and varied, come from that which is infinite and one? How can unity generate variety, unless it first contain this variety in its essence, that is, unless it be not unity? But, says Cousin, causation is of the essence of the absolute, of necessity it creates. Creation involves two things, the creating cause and that which is created. This relation which unity has to variety, that is, the necessity of producing it, according to this philosopher, connects the dissimilar elements of the infinite and the finite, in a legitimate and intelligible manner. We are not keen enough to perceive the peculiar effect attributed to this explanation,—that of absolving unity from the supposed absurdity or impossibility of generating variety. Unity and plurality are abstractions of the mind, ideas essentially distinct and incompatible. To affirm that one of these abstractions is the other, that is, that unity is, or can become variety, is a contradiction. But when we affirm that the Deity has created the universe, or to speak metaphysically, that the infinite can produce the finite, we are not guilty of this absurdity, we advance an altogether different proposition, that is, that a being, possessing the attribute of infinity, can create finite natures. This proposition, though it demand proof, involves no contradiction; but if it did, Cousin's explanation does not assist us, for that either assumes the very point in question, and affirms that unity does and must generate variety, or else defines unity to be not one, but two ideas,—unity and causation. The infinite is undoubtedly connected with the finite by the relation of cause; but in admitting this, we must give up unity as synonymous with the infinite, that is, in the abstract sense of the term.

His reduction of all philosophical systems to two, is not destitute of foundation, but he carries the spirit of system too far,—a spirit of which, he himself says, 'rien n'est si impitoyable,'—when he insists on ranging every philosopher in one or the other of these schools. The soundest minds have been those which have avoided a system, and cannot be said to belong exclusively to either school. Cousin admits, that although the sensual system of the continent was founded on Locke's philosophy, Locke himself did not go to that extreme, and it appears even from Cousin's view,—which is not altogether a fair one,—that all the principles derived by the sensual philosophers from Locke were truths, which, being incorporated with their errors, gave them currency.

The arrangement of all history into three epochs savors also too much of system. All the actual and possible forms of existence are reduced to three elementary ideas. Can any thing more be conceded, than that they may all be distributed into three classes? To class objects according to their most general character is not the same thing as to resolve them into their ultimate elements, and we conceive, that in this instance the two are confounded. But admitting that these three abstractions, the infinite, the finite, and their relation of cause, are the ultimate elements of thought, that there is no idea which is not compounded of these, and that the species exhibits only what belongs to the individual; still it is not without some aid from fancy, that the order established by Cousin is made out to prevail throughout all past and future history.

There is no idea more just in itself and more happily brought out by this able philosopher, than the eclectic principle,—that there is a portion of truth in every system which gives it currency, while it is the taking this portion for the whole, which is the source of error. The method he proposes of gathering up these scattered truths, is the true philosophical method, the only one which will, in the end,—although by slow degrees,—establish intellectual philosophy on immutable principles, or exorcise it out of that wizard circle of theory and system, in which it has been for ages spell-bound.

Notwithstanding, however, the excellence of this principle, the sublimity, extent and profoundness of his views, the splendor of his genius, which adorns no less than it illuminates every point to which it turns, there is in this writer a fondness for system and a disposition to generalize on insufficient grounds, which will bar his approach to perfection.

It is this power of generalization which distinguishes the philosophic from the vulgar mind, and to it we owe the benefits of science, yet it is one which needs to be exercised with caution. He who soars on the eagle's wing, should possess the keenness of his glance, and his faculty of unerring descent to earth, or else the ideas he gathers, though they may indicate this lofty flight, will have little value, applied to things below.

When we find a mind of such depth and comprehension as Cousin's, betrayed into the spirit of system and the subtilties of abstraction, we doubt if this is the age in which the science will be completed, and we venture to predict, that his is not the last metaphysical system which mankind are destined to receive.

But, although we cannot regard this system as the ultimatum of intellectual philosophy, yet is the science deeply indebted to Cousin, for the new light bestowed by his genius, and the attraction with which he has clothed a subject, often unjustly and ignorantly depreciated.

'La philosophie,' says Madame de Staël, 'est la beauté de la pensée; elle atteste la dignité de l'homme, qui peut s'occuper de l'eternel et de l'invisible, quoique tout ce qu il y a de grossier dans sa nature l'en éloigne.'

We are not among the number of those, who regard the labors of the metaphysician,—even when unsuccessful,—as altogether wasted. The evils of a speculative and visionary mind are not those which it behoves us, in the present day, especially to guard against. The calculations of interest and the division of labor are every where chaining down men's minds to a point, and we rejoice that there are spirits of higher range abroad, though their flight be in the clouds, whose call may rouse us to a sense of the grand features and broad principles of humanity.*

ART. III.—*Life and Times of Richard Baxter.*

The Life and Times of the Rev. Richard Baxter, with a Critical Examination of his Writings. By REV. WILLIAM ORME, author of the Life of JOHN OWEN, D. D., Bibliotheca Biblica, &c. In two volumes. Boston. Crocker and Brewster. 1831.

It is not our intention to enter into any extended examination of this work; the general character of Baxter being, as we may suppose, already familiar to most of our readers. We shall only advert to a few leading features in the history of this eminent man, whose eventful life, and the noble principles by which it was actuated, might furnish copious subjects for reflection. Both these are exhibited by the author of the volumes before us, who has shown how well he was qualified for his task, by the fidelity and good judgment, with which he has executed

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* Having stated in a former article on the same subject,—N. A. R. vol. xxix. p. 67.—that we should probably resume it in a future No. it may be proper to add here, that the present article is by a different writer.

it; more especially, by an exemplary candor and apparent freedom from prejudice rarely found in historians of events, which enlist the passions, and array men in parties. The reputation Mr. Orme obtained by his former works will not, we think, be impaired by this; though in consequence of his lamented death immediately upon its completion, it comes before the world as a posthumous publication.

We may venture to say, that no period of civil history is more remarkable for events or characters, for men and things, than were the 'Times of Richard Baxter.' His life, which somewhat exceeded seventy-six years, embraced the whole of that term, so memorable in the annals of England, commencing with the closing of the reign of King James and the accession of his ill-fated son, Charles I., and ending with 'the glorious Revolution,' as all Dissenters at least love to call it, in 1688, under William and Mary. The date of Baxter's birth, was Nov. 1615, and of his death, Dec. 1691. Of these, or of any great events passing before him, Baxter was not made to be a spectator merely. His genius and temper, the unquenchable ardor of his spirit, his acuteness of penetration, his ready eloquence, his industry, which neither sickness nor imprisonment seemed to interrupt, his glowing zeal, and, above all, his 'love of souls,' actuating and animating the whole man, disposed him to take a most lively interest in such affairs. And as the political changes of that day were essentially connected with the church, and indeed were, for the most part, proposed or urged in the name of, and for the sake of religion, Baxter could bear his part in them without violating the character, which amidst all his engagements and all his troubles he never forgot, which he deemed it his duty and his glory ever to maintain, that of a faithful minister of Christ. Accordingly, when the violence of the royalists in his neighborhood, and some experience of personal danger, had made it unsafe for him to continue with his beloved flock at Kidderminster, we find him, first, at court, preaching moderation to the King, whose want of it with the madness of the people cost him his head; then, as chaplain with the parliamentary army, whose cause he preferred, but whose excesses he fearlessly condemned; now, contending with its Antinomian officers in theological warfare, and refuting their fanaticism with his well known metaphysical subtilty, and then earnestly and tenderly exhorting them to look to their souls; not fearing to call Cromwell an usurper, telling him even to his face,

that the ancient monarchy had been a blessing, and asking of him how England had forfeited it; and yet not refusing him his just credit before the people, for the good he had done. Again, we find him after the usurper's death uniting with his Presbyterian brethren, some of the most eminent ministers of the times, of whom were Calamy, Manton, and Bates, to bring back the king; and finally, when the monarchy was settled and Episcopacy restored, laboring with all the resources of his learning, eloquence, and scholastic skill, to obtain what,—however by some desired and by others opposed, could have proved but a temporary expedient, fruitful, like most other such schemes, of troubles,—an agreement in church government with the Episcopalians and Presbyterians.

During these several changes, in which, and more especially the last, we mean the conference at Savoy, Baxter bore a very prominent part, his conduct, according to the opinion of his biographer, does credit to his conscientiousness rather than to his wisdom. 'He acted with the Parliament,' says the author, 'but maintained the rights of the king; he enjoyed the benefits of the Protectorate, but spoke and reasoned against the Protector. The craft and duplicity of Cromwell he hated and exposed; but the gross dissimulation and heartless indifference of Charles to every thing except his own gratification, it was long before he could be persuaded to believe.' Mr. Orme here, as throughout his work, adopts the views naturally taken by Dissenters in England, and which, with some modifications, would probably be adopted by the advocates of liberty, civil and religious, every where. We of this favored country, who have never known the burdens and disqualifications suffered by Nonconformists in Great Britain, may be incompetent judges of the nature of the evil and of the opposition with which it should be resisted. For ourselves, we can perfectly understand Baxter's preference of Charles, notwithstanding his vices, or rather, we should say, of the monarchy with the return of good order, to Cromwell with his 'greasy hat' and hypocritical prayers, or to the Commonwealth and Sir Harry Vane, with his antinomian and fanatical followers. At the same time, we doubt not in the least the correctness of the opinion expressed by Mr. Orme, on the course pursued by Baxter in these critical times, 'that abstract principles and refined distinctions, in these, as in some other matters, influenced his judgment rather than plain matters of fact; that speculations often distracted his mind

and fettered his conduct, while another man would have formed his opinion on a few obvious principles and facts, and have done, both as a subject and a christian, all that circumstances and the scriptures required.'

But what is most remarkable, and should never certainly be overlooked in any view we can take of the character of Baxter, is his uniform piety and spirituality. However engaged in public affairs, whatever may have been his circumstances, employments, dangers, or fears, he never forgot his business and duty as a minister of the gospel. To this, his chosen vocation, all things else were subservient. Whether at Kidderminster, with his own people, or in London and at Court, with the army among soldiers, or in prison with his fellow prisoners, he was the same devoted minister, incessantly laboring by his lips, his writings, and his life, to persuade men to be reconciled to God. His industry must have been wonderful; nor less so his power of abstraction. Some of his largest and ablest works were produced amidst scenes, which, if they did not secularize, would have totally discouraged most men from such pursuits. And while, in his daily intercourse with people of all characters, he was adding to his stock of experience and knowledge of mankind; recording too, as his diary shows, with great accuracy, passing events, he was composing those books of controversy and practical religion, which have come down to us in folios; some of which, had he lived earlier, would have placed him among the fathers of the church. It was during the latter part of his chaplainship in the army, and chiefly, as he mentions in his preface, under confinement by severe illness, that he wrote his 'Aphorisms on Justification,' and his 'Everlasting Rest.' 'His disputes with the Antinomian soldiers,' says Mr. Orme, 'led to his Aphorisms, while his labors and afflictions produced his Meditations on the 'Saint's Everlasting Rest.' We can hardly agree with this author, that they betray no marks of haste or crudeness. Still less can we say with the eloquent Barrow, however competent a judge, that, 'of the writings of Baxter, his controversial ones were seldom confuted, and his practical ones never mended.' For undeniably, they are diffuse to vexation, and are full of the metaphysical subtilties of his day. Yet with all their faults they are the productions of a noble genius, inspired by the eloquence of a holy soul, and probably have done more in their day, than any other uninspired writings, to make men wise to salvation.

Notwithstanding his learning and skill in disputation, of which last he was too fond, Baxter enjoyed few advantages of early instruction. Indeed, his education, both religious and secular, was exceedingly neglected. His constitution was originally weak; his health from childhood was poor; so that he was but little at school, and never at a university. In answering a letter of Anthony Wood, who inquired whether he was an Oxonian, he replied with much simplicity and dignity, 'As to myself, my faults are no disgrace to any university, for I was of none. I have little but what I had out of books, and inconsiderable helps from country tutors. Weakness and pain helped me to study how to die, and that set me on studying how to live. Beginning with necessities, I proceeded by degrees, and am now going to see that, for which I have lived and studied.'

One of the most remarkable features in this history, distinct from the personal character of Baxter, is the exhibition it gives of the church and of the general state of religion in the reign of the first Charles, before the times of the Commonwealth. We are aware of the prejudices, to which all men of a professedly religious party are exposed, and are willing to admit, that the statements of Dissenters in relation to Episcopacy are to be taken with some charitable allowance. The sense of grievances inflicted by an ecclesiastical establishment naturally quickens in the sufferers a discernment of its abuses; and not seldom does the just resentment of these degenerate into hatred and uncharitableness. We fear, that this danger has not been sufficiently guarded against by Dissenters in England at the present day. But it is to be remembered, that, at the period of which Baxter writes, he was himself a Conformist. His family was of the church, and all his early associations and feelings were in favor of Episcopacy. Yet, in speaking of his own neighborhood and while he was yet a youth, in his father's house, in Shropshire, he complains,

'That he had not the benefit of Christian instruction, or of the public preaching of the gospel; that there was little preaching of any kind, and that little calculated to injure rather than to benefit.

'In High Ercall, there were four readers in the course of six years; all of them ignorant, and two of them immoral men. At Eaton-Constantine, there was a reader of eighty years of age, Sir William Rogers, who never preached; yet he had two livings, twenty miles apart from each other. His sight failing, he repeated the prayers without book, but to read the lessons he employed

a common laborer one year, a tailor another; and, at last, his own son, the best stage-player and gamester in all the country, got orders and supplied one of his places. Within a few miles round, were nearly a dozen more ministers of the same description: poor, ignorant readers, and most of them of dissolute lives.* Three or four, who were of a different character, though all Conformists, were the objects of popular derision and hatred, as Puritans. When such was the character of the priests, we need not wonder that the people were profligate, and despisers of them that were good. The greater part of the Lord's day was spent by the inhabitants of the village in dancing round a may-pole, near Mr. Baxter's door, to the no small distress and disturbance of the family.'

At a late period, or about 1640, writing of the state of religion in Worcestershire, where he resided, his own parish of Kidderminster being in that county, he laments the extreme ignorance and profligacy, that were prevalent. With the exception of some ministers and their hearers, who for their greater strictness were stigmatized as Puritans or fanatics, he said that 'the people seemed to mind nothing seriously but the body and the world.'

'They went to church and could answer the parson in responses, and thence to dinner, and thence to play. They never prayed in their families; but some of them on going to bed would say over the creed, or the Lord's Prayer; and some of them the Hail Mary,—Ave Maria!—They read not the scriptures nor any good book or catechism. Few of them indeed could read or had a Bible.'

The majority of this class he represents as merely worldly men, intent on their business or interest. Of the rest, most were swearers, and drunkards, utter strangers to the power of religion. In the same connexion he complains of the low standard, not only of preaching, but of character among the clergy; with whom, notwithstanding eminent exceptions, there were found too many idle, ignorant, and unprincipled.

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*In his Third Defence of the Cause of Peace, Baxter gives the names of all the individuals above referred to, with additional circumstances of a disgraceful nature in the history of each. The statement is a very shocking one, even in the most mitigated form in which we could present it; but justice to Baxter and to his account of the times, required that the facts should not be withheld. They give a deplorable view of the state of the period, and show, very powerfully, the necessity of some of the measures which were pursued at a future period for the purification of the church.

In contrasting this deplorable condition of the church at that period with the changes that followed, Mr. Orme remarks;

'Whatever may be said or thought of the personal religion of Cromwell, the influence of his measures and government on the state of religion in the country was highly favorable. I have quoted the strong language of Baxter, respecting the sects and the divisions of the period, and the pointed censures which he pronounces on many of the leading men. It is right I should quote what he says about the improved state of religion during the Commonwealth. What a contrast does the following picture present, to the dismal representation of the condition of religion during the early days of Baxter, which have been given in the first part of this work!

'"I do not believe that ever England had so able and faithful a ministry since it was a nation, as it hath at this day; and I fear that few nations on earth, if any, have the like. Sure I am, the change is so great within these twelve years, that it is one of the greatest joys that ever I had in the world to behold it. O, how many congregations are now plainly and frequently taught, that lived then in great obscurity! How many able, faithful men are there now in a county, in comparison of what were then! How graciously hath God prospered the studies of many young men that were little children in the beginning of the late troubles, so that they now cloud the most of their seniors! How many miles would I have gone twenty years ago, and less, to have heard one of those ancient reverend divines, whose congregations are now grown thin, and their parts esteemed mean, by reason of the notable improvements of their juniors!"'

Baxter's moderation in his controversial opinions is well known. This quality pervaded all his speculations, and is the more remarkable, and certainly not the less honorable, when we consider the ardor of his mind and his susceptible temper. In his views of public affairs, as we have seen, it led him to differ in some respects from both the great parties, into which the kingdom was divided, cordially approving neither, sometimes condemning both, and in turn, as is the usual fortune of conciliators, censured by all. In religion, it made him averse to the extremes of Calvinism and Arminianism; and he labored to unite them. The system he adopted, and has maintained in his works, may be considered as a middle path between the two. His moderation was not relished by the advocates of the orthodox school, especially the Independents, who were jealous of the

slightest departure from their form of sound words ; and all the influence of Baxter's character, and incontestable superiority to most of them,—for we except such as Howe,—could not avail with them to protect him from the charge of heresy. The system he maintained, has been called Baxterianism, and they who have adopted it, have been called, either for reproach or honor, Baxterians.

Amidst his fervent zeal and his unwearied labors to persuade men to be reconciled to God, there was not wanting a shrewd, and some would think, though we do not profess ourselves of the number, a wise management of his influence. He says in his own account of his preaching, that he was accustomed, even in his most earnest exhortations, to introduce something too learned or abstruse for his people to comprehend, to the end, that they might be sensible of their ignorance, and of the great need in which they stood of a well-qualified ministry.

It was the fate of Baxter, as it has been of multitudes before and after him, to be calumniated. Indeed, when we consider the times in which he lived, and the violent prejudices and passions which all must have inevitably encountered, who took any part in public affairs, it would be surprising if Baxter, who was always in the midst of the warfare, should have escaped. Besides the imputation of heresy, and of other things less innocent, he was charged with covetousness, and specially with urging oppressive bargains with his booksellers. As the accusation is of itself singular, and his mode of refuting it may show to our readers something of the mystery of book-making in those days, when folios rather than duodecimos were in question, we shall set down his own account of the matter. Authors, who have books to make, and printers who have books to publish, will not fail to find their own peculiar interest in the matter ; while it may give to the curious reader some idea of the extent, to which religious works were circulated at that period.

Having adverted, says Mr. Orme, to several of the false charges, which had been made against him, he thus proceeds. The date of the letter is 1678.

'But now comes a new trial; my sufferings are my crimes. My bookseller, Nevil Symmonds, is broken, and it is reported that I am the cause, by the excessive rates that I took for my books of him; and a great dean, whom I much value, foretold that I would undo him. Of all the crimes in the world, I least expected to be accused of covetousness. Satan being the master

of this design to hinder the success of my writings when I am dead, it is part of my warfare, under Christ, to resist him. I tell you, therefore, truly, all my covenants and dealings with booksellers to this day.

'When I first ventured upon the publication of my thoughts, I knew nothing of the art of booksellers. I did, as an act of mere kindness, offer my book called 'The Saint's Rest,' to Thomas Underhill and Francis Tyton, to print, leaving the matter of profit, without any covenants, to their ingenuity. They gave me ten pounds for the first impression, and ten pounds a piece, that is twenty pounds for every after impression, till 1665. I had, in the mean time, altered the book, by the addition of divers sheets. Mr. Underhill died; his wife became poor. Mr. Tyton had losses by the fire in 1666. They never gave, nor offered me a farthing for any impression after that, nor so much as one of the books; but I was fain out of my own purse to buy all that I gave to any friends, or poor person that asked it.

'This loosening me from Mr. Tyton, Mr. Symmonds stepped in and told me that Mr. Tyton said he never got three-pence by me, and brought witness. Hereupon I used Mr. Symmonds only. When I lived at Kidderminster, some had defamed me of a covetous getting of many hundred pounds by the booksellers. I had, till then, taken of Mr. Underhill, Mr. Tyton, and Mr. Symmonds, for all, save the 'Saint's Rest,' the fifteenth book, which usually I gave away; but if any thing for second impressions were due, I had little in money from them, but in such books as I wanted at their rates. But when this report of my great gain came abroad, I took notice of it in print, and told them I intended to take more hereafter: and ever since I took the fifteenth book for myself and friends, and eighteen-pence more for every ream of the other fourteen, which I destinated to the poor. With this, while I was at Kidderminster, I bought Bibles, to give to all the poor families; and I got three hundred or four hundred pounds, which I destined all to charitable uses. At last, at London, it increased to eight hundred and thirty pounds, which, delivering to a worthy friend, he put it into the hands of Sir Robert Viner, with a hundred pounds of my wife's, where it lieth, settled on a charitable use after my death, as from the first I resolved. If it fails, I cannot help it. I never received more of any bookseller than the fifteenth book, and this eighteen-pence a ream. And if, for after impressions, I had more of those fifteenths than I gave away, I took about two third parts of the common price of the bookseller, or little more, and oft less; and sometimes I paid myself for the printing many hundreds to give away; and sometimes I bought them of the bookseller above my number, and

sometimes the gain was my own necessary maintenance; but I resolved never to lay up a groat of it for any but the poor.

'Now, sir, my own condition is this: Of my patrimony or small inheritance I never took a penny to myself, my poor kindred needing much more. I am fifteen or sixteen years divested of all ecclesiastical maintenance. I never had any church or lecture that I received wages from, but, within these three or four years, much against my disposition, I am put to take money of the bounty of special particular friends; my wife's estate being never my property, nor much more than half our yearly expense. If, then, it be any way unfit for me to receive such a proportion as aforesaid, as the fruit of my own long and hard labor, for my necessary and charitable uses; and if they that never took pains for it have more right than I, when every laborer is master of his own, or if I may not take some part with them, I know not the reason of any of this. Men grudge not a cobbler, or a tailor, or any day-laborer, for living on his labors; and why an ejected Minister of Christ, giving freely five parts to a bookseller, may not take the sixth to himself, or to the poor, I know not. But what is the thought or word of man?

'Dr. Bates now tells me, that for his book, called the 'Divine Harmony,' he had above a hundred pounds, yet reserving the power for the future to himself; for divers impressions of the Saint's Rest, almost twice as big, I have not had a farthing: for no book have I had more than the fifteenth book to myself and friends, and the eighteen pence a ream for the poor and works of charity, which the devil so hateth, that I find it a matter past my power, to give my own to any good use; he so robs me of it, or maketh men call it a scandalous thing. Verily, since I devoted all to God, I have found it harder to give it when I do my best, than to get it: though I submit of late to him partly upon charity, and am so far from laying up a groat, that (though I hate debt) I am long in debt.'*

The extent of these transactions with booksellers, as well as the unwearied industry and fertility of Baxter, may at once be seen by a reference to the list of his books, making in all, one hundred and sixty-eight distinct treatises or works. Some of these were considerable volumes. In the chronological catalogue appended to these memoirs, we observe, that the largest proportion were originally published in quarto or octavo; while three or four, as the 'Christian Directory' and the 'Catholic Theology,' the one printed in 1675, the other in 1673, in the

*Appendix to Baxter's Own Life, No. xii.

interval only of two years,* were in folio. When we consider the troublesome scenes, in which he was continually involved; his constant bodily infirmities, and the demands on his time and thoughts, while serving in the army as chaplain and while engaged in the protracted conference at Savoy; his repeated confinements in prison, where he complains of being deprived of his books;—when we add to this the extent of reading displayed in his writings; the correspondence to which they frequently led, and the diversity of subjects they embrace, it is impossible not to admire the indefatigable application and resources of his mind. Something of this wonder will be diminished, as is common upon a near examination of all seeming prodigies, by considering, that he first preached a great part of all that he published. His practical works, as we now have them in four volumes folio, were for the most part sermons; and he, that at the present day should print what he preaches, as did the worthies of those times, Howe and Manton and Henry, might soon take rank, as far as bulk and volume are concerned, with the Fathers of the Church. But with all these deductions, which we make out of regard to the truth of things, we agree with Mr. Orme, that 'it is indeed marvellous, that a man, who was no less marked for the number and variety of his bodily infirmities than for the multiplicity of his ministerial avocations, and who seemed to have lived only in the atmosphere of a printing-office, should under all these disadvantages have produced volumes with the ease, that other men issue tracts.'

To those, who have never acquainted themselves with the extent of Baxter's productions, and have thought of him only, as it must be confessed the melancholy portraits usually affixed to his books represent him, as a demure, broken-hearted, joyless man, it will probably be surprising to learn, that he was a Poet. Mr. Montgomery, in his recent collection, has given him a place among the Christian Psalmists of England, and speaks of a little volume of 'Poetical Fragments,' published under a very quaint title in 1681, as 'inestimable for its piety and far above mediocrity in many passages for its poetry.' Mr. Orme also mentions, that he left, fully prepared for the press, an entire poetical version or paraphrase of the Psalms of David,

*Among his works is a folio in Latin of more than nine hundred pages.

with some other hymns, which were published after his death in 1692, by his friend and first biographer, Matthew Sylvester.

The courage and intrepidity of Baxter were apparent in all his conduct. There was that within him, which, had he lived a century before, would have defied not imprisonment only, but torture and death. He had frequent calls for these virtues and he never shrunk from the trial. We have already adverted to his interview with Cromwell, whom he always regarded as an usurper,* and when summoned to answer before Jeffries for his refusal to conform, he proved how little he feared the face of man. That infamous Judge, probably the worst that ever disgraced the bench of justice, was resolved, in defiance of all evidence and equity, to make Baxter, whom he

* As this interview is a remarkable passage in the life of Baxter, and sets in a strong light the character of Cromwell as well as his own, we shall here extract it, as copied by Mr. Orme from Sylvester.

'"A little while after, Cromwell sent to speak with me, and when I came, in presence of only three of his chief men,† he began a long and tedious speech to me of God's Providence in the change of the government, and how God had owned it, and what great things had been done at home, and abroad, in the peace with Spain and Holland, &c. When he had wearied us all with speaking thus slowly about an hour, I told him it was too great condescension to acquaint me so fully with all these matters, which were above me; but I told him that we took our ancient monarchy to be a blessing, and not an evil to the land; and humbly craved his patience that I might ask him how England had ever forfeited that blessing, and unto whom that forfeiture was made? I was fain to speak of the form of government only, for it had lately been made treason, by law, to speak for the person of the king.

"Upon the question, he was awakened into some passion, and then told me it was no forfeiture, but God had changed it as pleased Him; and then he let fly at the parliament, which thwarted him; and especially by name at four or five of those members who were my chief acquaintances, whom I presumed to defend against his passion: and thus four or five hours were spent.

"A few days after he sent for me again, to hear my judgment about liberty of conscience, which he pretended to be most zealous for, before almost all his privy council; where, after another slow tedious speech of his, I told him a little of my judgment. And when two of his company had spun out a great deal more of the time in such like tedious, but more ignorant speeches, some four or five hours being spent, I told

† Lord Broghill, Lambert, and Thurlow, were the individuals present on this occasion. Lambert fell asleep during Cromwell's speech.—*Baxter's Penitent Confessions*, p. 25.

hated for his influence, an example to the Presbyterians, whom he affected to despise. It is said, that Jeffries would have inflicted corporal punishment on Baxter, but that his brethren on the Bench would not accede to it. He loaded him, however, with all manner of abuse, calling him the 'old blockhead, the unthankful villain, that would not conform, who had poisoned the world with his *linsey-woolsey* doctrine,'—because, we presume, of his preaching to the carpet-makers of Kidderminster,—'a conceited, stubborn, fanatical dog, a snivelling Presbyterian, a Kidderminster bishop;' and finally when Baxter began to speak, he thus reviled him, 'Richard, Richard, dost thou think we'll hear thee poison the whole court; Richard, thou art an old fellow, an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart; and every one as full of sedition, I might say treason, as an egg is full of meat. Hadst thou been whipt out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy.' 'I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to see what will become of their Don, and a doctor of your party,'—looking to Dr. Bates,—'at your elbow, but by the grace of God, I'll crush you all.'

Such was the conduct of Jeffries towards a man, whose only offence was the publication of a 'Paraphrase on the New-Testament, some passages from which were described as seditious.' For this a heavy fine was inflicted, with imprisonment till he paid it, and he was bound to his good behaviour for seven years. He sustained his trial with an admirable composure, only replying to the outrageous abuse of the Judge, 'I am not concerned to answer such stuff; but am ready to produce my writings for the confutation of all this; and my life and conversation are known to many in this nation.'

We scarcely know a name, that has come down to us in history, loaded with deeper execration than this of Lord

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him, that if he would be at the labor to read it, I could tell him more of my mind in writing in two sheets, than in that way of speaking in many days; and that I had a paper on the subject by me, written for a friend, which, if he would peruse, and allow for the change of the person, he would know my sense. He received the paper afterwards, but I scarcely believe he ever read it; for I saw that what he learned must be from himself; being more disposed to speak many hours than to hear one; and little heeding what another said, when he had spoken himself."'‡

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‡ Life, part i. p. 205.

Jeffries. His character is stamped with a peculiar infamy, when we consider the place he filled, and his brutal abuse of his high authority. He was notorious on the bench for a total disregard for the decencies of his station, for the rights of the bar and of the accused, and for the claims of justice. 'His progress through some of the western counties,' says his biographer, 'might have been tracked by the blood,* which he so lavishly shed; and anecdotes of his cruelties have been preserved, which strike the reader with indignant horror.'† 'To do him justice,' says another, 'he had a great deal of baseness in his nature, having a particular delight and relish in such things as give horror to the rest of mankind.' And, we may add, his meanness and cowardice in disgrace, his narrow escape from the violence of an incensed populace, calling for vengeance, and his death in the tower, hastened by his intemperance, are all in entire accordance with his insolence, barbarity and vulgar prostitution of justice, while on the bench. Two instances, indeed, are recorded, in which Jeffries exhibited something approaching to kindness and generosity. One of these was in favor of the celebrated divine, Philip Henry, who had aided him in his studies, while at school. But beyond this, and his natural abilities, which none denied, but all saw he abused, he seems to have possessed no redeeming quality whatever.

We turn with pleasure to the personal memoir of Baxter, to which, however, we can only advert to mark one or two of those prominent passages, not to be omitted in any man's private history, and always interesting to others in proportion to his fame. Baxter remained for a long time single, having

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*'The apology, which has sometimes been offered for this unjust Judge, that his cruelties were perpetrated to please his royal master, will not,' says Mr. Orme, 'stand the test of a rigid examination. That King James was cold and cruel too, cannot be doubted; but the conduct of Jeffries on this and similar occasions, seems evidently to have arisen from his own nature, which was savage, vulgar, and unrelenting. He was a fit instrument for doing the work of a despotic government; but he was also admirably qualified for rendering that government an object of universal hatred and loathing. Nothing, probably, contributed more effectually to the downfal of James's authority, and the utter extinction of his influence in the country, than the brutal outrages of this man.'

† See Biography of eminent British Lawyers, by Henry Roscoe, Esq., son of the celebrated William Roscoe, published in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopedia.

repeatedly expressed his determination to remain so; and even in his writings he had argued against the 'conveniences of ministers' marrying.' Yet with the usual sacrifice in such cases of resolution to inclination, and with the usual ingenuity, always pardonable but sometimes ludicrous, which finds some peculiar circumstances to excuse it, as soon as he found himself by the act of uniformity taken off from his public labors, he was comfortably married, at the age of forty-seven, to Miss Margaret Charlton, aged twenty-two. The good man, in relating at some length his happy experience in this enterprise, acknowledges 'that it was a matter of much public talk and wonder, so that the King's marriage,' which happened about the same time, 'was not more talked of.' But he observes, with a gravity, which our readers from their deep respect will not fail also to maintain, 'that the true opening of her case and mine, and the many strange occurrences, which brought it to pass, would take away the wonder of her friends and mine, that knew us, and the notice of it would much conduce to the understanding of some other passages of our lives; yet wise friends, by whom I am advised,'—and here we cannot but commend at once the prudence of the counsel and the wisdom that followed it,—'think it better to omit such personal particularities, at least at this time.' He could not, however, refrain from adding, that there 'was much extraordinary both in her case and his own; that many stoppages intervened and long delays, till on Sept. 10, 1662, we were married by Mr. Samuel Clark, in the presence of Mr. Henry Ashurst and Mrs. Ash.'

The history intimates, that the attachment commenced on the part of the lady, who had been greatly instructed and edified by Mr. Baxter's preaching; and who entertained such a sense of its usefulness to herself and others, that it was among the conditions to which she consented upon their marriage, 'that she would expect none of the time, which his ministerial work would require.' In this respect, Baxter was more favored than the celebrated Wesley, whose wife complained bitterly, that his frequent preaching and journeys made him an unsocial and absent husband. Notwithstanding the great disparity of their ages, Mrs. Baxter proved a most excellent wife; living with him more than twenty years in great harmony, and confessing a little before her death, 'that she had expected more sourness and bitterness than she had ever experienced.' Baxter had just reason to lament her, for to her exemplary piety and

charity, she added such profound deference to his character, filial acquiescence in his judgment, care of his clothes and exclusive care of his house, as make her an example,* which we commend to the imitation of the wives of ministers in every coming age and of all denominations.

Nor can it justly be omitted in Baxter's personal history, that he refused a Bishopric, that of Hereford, which, after the restoration and the failure of the conference at Savoy, was offered and even urged upon him by Lord Chancellor Hyde, the celebrated Earl of Clarendon. A similar proposal was made to his friends and colleagues in the conference, Reynolds and Calamy. Dr. Calamy hesitated long, and could scarcely prevail upon himself to refuse so flattering a dignity, but at length declined, fearing the calumny it might occasion. Reynolds accepted, and became bishop of Norwich. But Baxter himself at once and decidedly refused, with many acknowledgements, however, to the Lord Chancellor 'for his great favor and condescension,' and recommending to his attention some others, who, he thought, might conscientiously and worthily be promoted. The letter is quoted at length by Mr. Orme, 'as an admirable specimen of the simplicity, integrity, and disinterestedness of Baxter's mind.'

And here we may observe, in passing, that there is nothing in which the fairness of the writer of these memoirs is more conspicuous, than in his remarks upon the character and conduct of Lord Clarendon. This is especially to be commended, when we consider the contempt with which that great but unfor-

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*We remember hearing a tradition, which it appears was totally unfounded, that Baxter was unhappy in his marriage; and that he had even sought out such a trial, for the discipline of his temper and the good of his soul. In the memoirs which he published of Mrs. B. after her death, he relates many interesting traits in her character; among others, an instance of her great presence of mind, on a particular occasion when he was preaching, and the people were suddenly frightened by the cracking of the main beam in the gallery. Amidst the great consternation, after the first alarm was given, 'Mrs. Baxter,' says her husband, 'went immediately down stairs, and accosting the first person she met, asked him what was his profession? He said, a carpenter. 'Can you suddenly put a prop under the middle of this beam?' said she. The man dwelt close by, had a great prop ready, suddenly put it under, while the congregation above knew nothing of it, but had its fears increased by the man's knocking.' Surely in such a woman, 'the heart of her husband may safely trust. She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life.'

tunate statesman and high-toned churchman was accustomed to treat Presbyterians and all dissenting ministers. He lost no opportunity, either by his words or his measures, of showing them his perfect hatred. He speaks of them scornfully, as ignorant and self-willed, even wanting in good judgment, and 'taking the worst measures of human affairs that he ever knew of any class of men, that had learned to read and write.' And he expressly numbers it among the infelicities and disorders of the times of the Commonwealth, that in the prevalent zeal for a false religion, the daughters of some noble families condescended to marry Presbyterian ministers, and 'to contract other such low alliances.'

After his release from the King's Bench in 1686, upon being required to give sureties for his good behavior, Baxter removed to his house in London, and continued for nearly five years to assist his faithful friend Sylvester, who afterwards became his biographer, in his pulpit labors. In 1691, his increasing infirmities confined him to his house and chamber, and finally put an end to his active and zealous life before the close of that year. He was greatly honored and lamented at his death. The spirit of party had subsided. The political and religious dissensions, in which his ardent mind and scrupulous conscience had disposed him to take so prominent a part, were in a great measure composed by the 'glorious Revolution;' the memory of his faithful labors and of his holy living was added to sympathy in his sufferings for a righteous cause, so that none who knew him refused the homage of their respect. His funeral was attended by an immense concourse of mourners of different ranks and denominations, eager to testify their veneration for an aged servant of God, who amidst numberless temptations and dangers had maintained his integrity, and 'of whom,' concludes his biographer, 'it might be said with equal truth as of the intrepid Reformer of the North, John Knox, "Here lies one, who never feared the face of man."'

The most instructive, and for that reason the most interesting work of Baxter, remains to be noticed. We refer to his review of his own life and opinions, after his long and busy career. In no account of Baxter, should this remarkable production be overlooked. It was written towards the conclusion of his life. It marks the candor and integrity of his spirit; the impartiality and accuracy, with which he had studied himself; and presents a faithful history of the gradual and successive changes of his

own mind. It would, therefore, be unjust to present it in any other than his own words. This has been done by both his biographers, and parts of it have often been quoted. We shall only therefore at present refer to it, and commend it to our readers, as a legacy of wisdom and matured experience. It is full of instruction for the young and for the old.

Those of our readers, whose want of opportunity or inclination may prevent their consulting the folios of Baxter, may find an abridgment of this excellent work, as also of the most valuable of his practical treatises, in these volumes of Orme. They will see for themselves how impartial and discriminating was Baxter's judgment, and how kind his feelings, at an age, when it is not uncommon to find them impaired. They will see how time and experience, advancing knowledge and observation of affairs, had taught him to be less confident in himself, and less distrustful of others; to attach less value to fervor of profession, and more to an humble, modest, and sanctified life; not to expect too much from great and splendid enterprises in religion; and to believe that its noblest influences are in privacy, self-denial and charity. 'I am more deeply afflicted,' says he, 'for the disagreements among Christians, than I was when I was a younger Christian, and am more deeply sensible of the sinfulness of those, especially of pastors of churches, who cause such divisions.' 'I am more apprehensive of the sin and mischief of using men cruelly in matters of religion, and of pretending men's good and the order of the church, for acts of inhumanity or uncharitableness. Such know not their own infirmity, nor yet the nature of pastoral government, which ought to be by love; nor do they know the way to win a soul, or to maintain the church's peace.' 'I do not lay too great a stress upon the external modes and forms of worship, as many young professors do; and if I were among the Greeks, the Lutherans, the Independents, yea, the Anabaptists, owning no heresy nor setting themselves against charity and peace, I would hold occasional communion with them as christians.' 'I am not so narrow in my special love as heretofore; and am not for narrowing the church more than Christ himself allowed, nor for robbing him of any of his flock. I am much more apprehensive of the odiousness and danger of the sin of pride, especially in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical. I think, that so far as any man is proud, he is kin to the devil, and utterly a stranger to God and to himself.'

With equal ingenuousness he adverts to the undeniable infirmity of his own temper, which old age had not wholly subdued. He confesses it with a touching simplicity; and declares, that though God may have forgiven him, he cannot forgive himself for the rash words and deeds, by which he had seemed injurious, or less tender and kind than he should have been to his near and dear relations. 'For when such are dead,' adds he, 'though we never differed in point of interest, or any other matter, every sour, or cross, or provoking word, which I gave them, maketh me almost irreconcilable to myself; and tells me how repentance brought some of old to pray to the dead, whom they had wronged, to forgive them in the hurry of their passion.'

These are among the changes, which Baxter describes, as having gradually taken place in his religious feelings and opinions. They are more honorable to him than all the glory of his genius, his learning or his eloquence; and he has given in them the most beautiful illustration of one of his own fine sayings, 'That as fruit grows mellow in ripening for the taste, so old age grows kinder as it ripens for Heaven.'

Art. IV.—*Hodgson's Memoirs on the Berber Language.*

1. *Grammatical Sketch and Specimens of the Berber Language, preceded by Four Letters on Berber Etymologies, addressed to the President of the American Philosophical Society.* Read Oct. 2, 1829. Published in the Transactions of the Society.
2. *Notes of a Journey into the Interior of North Africa, by Hadji Ebn-ed-Din El-Eghwaati.* Translated by W. B. Hodgson, Esq., late American Consul at Algiers, and a Foreign Member of the British Royal Asiatic Society. London. 1830.

These publications exhibit very satisfactory evidences of the zeal and industry with which Mr. Hodgson employed the opportunities afforded him by his residence at the Consulate at Algiers, for the purpose of extending his own knowledge of foreign languages, and increasing the general stock of philosophical learning. The want of a competent oriental interpreter had been sensibly felt at the Department of State on several

occasions of considerable importance, and Mr. Hodgson was attached to the Consulate at Algiers, then under the direction of Mr. Shaler, for the purpose of enabling him to qualify himself for this service. He had previously exhibited a decided talent for the acquisition of foreign and particularly Oriental languages, and the results of his studies at Algiers prove that the selection was judicious and fortunate. We are glad to perceive, that though withdrawn from Algiers, Mr. Hodgson has been retained in the public service by the present administration, and that he has been recently attached to the Legation at Constantinople, in quality of Interpreting Secretary. This situation is still more favorable for literary and philological researches than the other, and we look forward with high expectations to the fruits of his labors in this rich field.

The first of the publications now before us is a series of four letters on the Berber language, accompanied by a very concise grammatical sketch. They were addressed to Mr. Duponceau, and by him communicated to the American Philosophical Society. The name of this eminent philologist would of itself be sufficient to establish their claims to attention, and they will be found in fact to add a number of curious and valuable particulars to the little that was before known upon the subject.

The Berber language is common to a race of men, which, under some varieties of physical conformation, is thinly scattered over the whole North of Africa, from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean. They are entirely distinct in person, language and manners, both from the Moors and the Negroes, and must therefore be the descendants either of the Carthaginians, or of the people who inhabited the country previously to the foundation of Carthage by the Phœnicians, and who were known to the ancients by the names of Libyans and Numidians. The former opinion was adopted by Langlès and Marsden, and has been recently countenanced by a respectable British Journal. The latter was deduced from the same materials by Heeren, and is supported in the work before us. The plan upon which Mr. Hodgson conducted his researches is described in the following extract.

'The more I investigate the subject, the more I am satisfied that the idiom of the Berbers is not the remains of the ancient Punic; but that it is the same language which was spoken by the inhabitants of the northern coast of Africa, at the time of the foundation of Carthage; much corrupted, however, by the introduction of Arabic,

and perhaps in this district at least, of Punic words and forms. The former, indeed, are so visible, that it is easy to perceive that they do not belong to the original language, from the peculiar structure of which they essentially differ. The latter, if any there be, it is not so easy to observe, as there are no remains of the Punic language sufficient to assist us in the inquiry. We may, perhaps, discover hereafter, some traces of it, by comparing the Berber of what was called Africa Proper, with the dialects of those parts where Carthaginian colonization did not extend. If the Punic idiom was ever incorporated to any extent with the language of the Numidians in the vicinity of Carthage, or in the countries under her dominion, it must have produced a marked difference between their dialects and those of the more distant tribes, which cannot escape the inquisitive eye of philologists.

'My knowledge of the Berber language is, as you will readily perceive, very limited. But I have an intelligent Taleb, a native Kabyle, who is well skilled in that idiom, and in the literal and vulgar Arabic. Hamet, as he is called, is a young man, twenty-one years of age, belonging to the Emazzean tribe, vulgarly called *Beni Boojeiah*, and to the village of *Thegedoween*. He studied the Koran and Sidi Khalil for six years, at the *Mederes* or Theological School of Boojeiah, near which he resides. After having completed his course of divinity, he came to Algiers, where he was made known to me by a Kabyle, in the employment of this consulate. On the suggestion of Mr. Shaler, I engaged his services, and he now resides in the Consular house, at Mr. Shaler's expense: such is the devotion of this excellent man to the cause of science, and to every thing that may be honorable or useful to our country.

'Through the medium of the Arabic language, my young Marabout instructs me in his native tongue; and the enclosed sketches are the first fruits of the instruction I have received from him. He has translated for me into Arabic several Berber tales; one of which I have selected, and send you, as well as a piece of Berber poetry, with literal translations, which I have been able to make into English by means of the explanations of my Taleb. I could not have done it without his aid. His mind is equal to the analytical labor which it required.

'But I have found him particularly useful in my investigation of the origin of the Berber language. The plan which I pursued was to ascertain whether the proper names of persons and places, which abound in the books of ancient history and geography, some of the latter of which have been preserved to this day, were in any way connected with the Berber idiom. If I should not only find that they bore some analogy to it, but that they had such signi-

fications as might naturally be supposed to be connected with proper names, a strong argument would be obtained in favor of the antiquity of this language and of its being aboriginal to the country. If those significant names extended east and west from one end of the African continent to the other, and from its northern coast south even to the Desert of Sahara, where no Phenician colony can be supposed to have existed, it would be clear, independently of the inferences that may be drawn from the different structure of the two languages, that our Berber could not be the Punic, as Marsden and others have supposed; but was the language of the Autochthones, of the ancient inhabitants of the country, which the Phenicians who founded Carthage and their descendants were obliged to learn and to speak in common with their own, and which procured them the appellation of *Tyrii bilingues*.

'Full of this idea, Mr. Shaler and I immediately set to work, by turning over the leaves of Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and other Greek and Roman writers; and having collected a considerable list of geographical names, we hastened to present them to our Taleb, and were not a little delighted to find, that he recognised in many of them words of his own language, bearing such significations as might naturally be supposed to have been affixed to towns, rivers, mountains, &c. and that this was particularly the case with those names which still continue to be in use from the remotest antiquity, and which have at this day the same meaning which they probably had in ancient times. So far as we have gone, our success has exceeded our most sanguine expectations; so much so, that although our labors are by no means at an end, I cannot refrain from giving you some specimens of our progress. I regret exceedingly that Mr. Shaler's departure deprives me of his powerful assistance: I feel nevertheless sufficient courage to proceed in this interesting investigation, and hope to obtain still more convincing proofs of the fact, that the Berber language is no other than the ancient Libyan, or Numidian, as you may please to call it.'

Mr. Hodgson proceeds to give some examples of ancient names of persons and places, which he had found to be significant in the Berber tongue. The following may serve as a specimen.

'I begin with the word *Atlas*, the name which has been given from the highest antiquity to that chain of mountains which extends from the western coast of Africa to the confines of Egypt. As this name has come down to us through the Greeks, and is closely connected with the ancient mythology of that people, it

seems natural to suppose that it is of Grecian origin; but I am rather inclined to believe that it is derived from the language of the people who inhabit those mountains, from whom most probably the Greeks received it, and, according to their well known custom, softened the harshness of its sounds to give it that euphony which their delicate ears indispensably required.

'I cannot find that the Berbers of this day have any discriminating name for the chain of Mount Atlas. They call it *Adhraer*,* the mountain, and in the plural *Edhrarin*. This word is written variously by the different authors who have treated of the Berber language. Hornemann writes it *Idrarn*, Ali-Bey *Adrer*, Dr. Shaw *Athrair;* Mr. Shaler's vocabulary has the spelling of two persons, one of whom writes *Adrar*, and the other *Æderer*. This shows how differently the auditory organs can be affected by the sounds of a language greatly differing from our own. Then why could not the Greeks in those remote times have transformed *Adrar* or *Adhraer* into *Atlas?* Etymologists well know how easily *d* or *dh* is changed into *t;* and the liquid sound of *r* into *l* and *s*. I think it unnecessary to cite any examples to you, who are, no doubt, familiar with these transmutations of organic sounds. It might be said, perhaps, that when the Greeks invented the fable of the giant of these mountains, who supported the world upon his shoulders, they changed *Adrar* into *Atlas* by analogy to the words of their own language ἀθλεύω and ἀθλητὴς, expressive of his mighty struggles to bear the weight imposed upon him: but we must be on our guard against fanciful conjectures.

There can be no doubt that this word *Adrar* or *Adhraer* is very ancient. Dr. Shaw, in his valuable work on Barbary and the Levant, observes that it has been remarked by the ancient geographers, that the Atlas chain of mountains was called in their times *Dyris* or *Dyrim*, and *Adderis* or *Adderim;* and upon that he proceeds gravely to discuss a Hebrew etymology of these words which he found in Bochart, and an Arabic one of his own. But we have at least shaken off the yoke of that pedantic prejudice, which formerly traced all etymologies to the Hebrew and the Semitic languages. We do not think that the christian religion will be less followed, or the Mosaic account of the creation less believed, because we cannot find a Hebrew origin for all the idioms of the earth.

'These names, which are found in Strabo among the Greeks, and in Pliny, Solinus and Marianus Capella among the Latin writers, appear to me to be nothing else than the Berber words

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* In this word *dh* has the sound of δ in modern Greek, or of the English *th* in *then, that.*

Athraer, *Adhrarin*, which, as I have said before, mean a mountain or mountains, differently corrupted from what they had been before when they were changed to *Atlas*. *Adrar*, *Athraer*, *Edhrarin*, *Adderis* or *Adderim*, are evidently the same word, with such variations as may naturally be expected, when proper names pass from one language into another. There is surely not more, nor perhaps so much difference between them, as between *Antwerpen* and *Amberes**, *Mechlin* and *Malines*, *Lugdunum* and *Lyons*, Ὀδυσσεὺς and *Ulysses*, Καρχηδών and *Carthage*. And if the Romans or the Greeks changed *Adrar* and *Edhrarin* into *Adderis*, or in the accusative *Adderim*; why from *Adderis* might they not have made *Adras*, *Atras* or *Atlas*?

'The next that I shall adduce is the still existing name of *Thala*, a town celebrated in the history of the Numidian wars for its protracted siege, sustained against the army of Metellus, and for the sublime devotion of its citizens, who preferred committing themselves to the flames, rather than to the hands of their conquerors. See Sallust, Bell. Jugurth. 50—52. Thala is the parallel of Numantia, and the ancient Numidians probably rivalled the Iberians in warlike virtues and the love of independence. Tacitus, Annal. III. c. 21, mentions another town of the same name.

There are in this name no discrepancies of orthography to reconcile between the ancient and modern spelling. The Romans wrote it *Thala*, and precisely thus do the Kabyles pronounce it at this day. In their language it means *a covered fountain*, in contradistinction to an *open spring*, which is called *Aénser*. There is at this moment in the mountains of Boojeiah, a village of Kabyles, called *Thala Edhrarin*, that is to say, *Thala of the mountains*, from the number or peculiar character of its fountains: the ancient Thala may have been so called for the same reason; and with this idea the following passage of Sallust presents a remarkable coincidence. '"Apud Thalam, haud longe à mœnibus, aliquot fontes erant:"' this is the advantage which, he says, Thala possessed over the town of Capsa, where there was but one spring of water, una modò jugi aqua.

'The custom of the Kabyles relative to these *covered fountains* is curious and interesting. A house is constructed over them, for their defence from the rays of the sun, from rain, and the pollution of animals. No man is allowed to enter these sacred precincts; women alone, who have ever been the "drawers of water" among uncultivated people, can tread the hallowed spot: if a man violate the sanctuary, punishment is inflicted, and an ox

* The Spanish name for *Antwerp*.

is sacrificed as a piaculum to the genius of the fountain. The practice of sacrificing goats, cocks, &c. to *Jin* or Genii is still observed by the Arabs and Moors. The ox is dissected by the *Amekran* or chief of the Kabyle *thedderth* or village, and by him distributed to the people, who attend in numbers on these occasions."

Numerous other examples are given by Mr. Hodgson of affinities of the same description, to which we cannot here advert. Our author is of opinion, that the language spoken by the ancient Egyptians was a branch of the Berber, and has attempted to explain several Egyptian names by recurrence to that idiom. His observations upon this point, if not always decisive, are certainly worth attention, as will be seen by the following extract.

'I have, however, had the good fortune to meet here with a copy of the most excellent work of M. Champollion the younger, entitled "*Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique des anciens Egyptiens.*" I have read it with avidity, and was delighted to find in it some facts, which seem to support the conjecture which I have ventured to offer to you. The first thing that has struck me, is some real affinities in the grammatical forms of the Coptic and Berber languages. *Nou*, *ne* or *noui*, and *ent* answer in Coptic to our pronoun *which*. In the Kabyle dialect of the Berbers, *enoua* and *enta* have the same signification. *Yours* and *his*, in both languages, are expressed by *nek* and *nes; towards you* would be in Coptic *êroeek*, in Berber the phrase is rendered by *Ghâreek* or *Areek*. I should also observe that P. PH. are the masculine determinate articles, and T. TH. the feminine, in the one language, and D. DH. are the masculine, and T. TH. the feminine determinate articles of the other, and that in both they are used as prefixes.'

'I think I have found Berber etymologies for four Egyptian proper names. I give them to you for what they are worth.

'Those names are *Ammon*, *Themis*, *Thebes* or *Thebais*, and *Thoth*. I shall proceed with them separately and in order.

'1. *Ammon*. This, as you well know, is the name of the Egyptian Jupiter. It appears, however, that he was not of Egyptian, but of Libyan origin. Propertius, l. 4, eleg. 1, calls him *Jupiter Libycus*. Lucan, in his Pharsalia, lib. 10, v. 511, speaks of him also as a Libyan God, the only one that had a temple in that country. It is related in our books of mythology, that Hercules, crossing the Libyan deserts with his army, on his way to India, and perishing with thirst, implored the aid of his father Jupiter, who appeared to him in the form of a ram, and scratching the

earth with his foot, a spring of water immediately spouted up. Thus, all the accounts we have of Jupiter Ammon point to a Libyan origin, and it is well known that his celebrated temple was not in Egypt, but in an Oasis, supposed to be that of Siwah, in the desert of Barca, where the Berber idiom is still spoken.'

'Whatever you may think of this etymology, it is certainly preferable to any one that may be derived from the Greek language; for, how can it be supposed that it was spoken or even known in Egypt, in the remote times to which the worship of Ammon may be traced? M. Champollion's researches have proved to us that it existed as far back as the reign of Sesostris. Therefore the derivation from ἄμμος must be considered at this day as utterly inadmissible, and no better one has been suggested that I know of. I proceed to the next Egyptian name.

'2. *Themis.* The ancient Egyptians, according to Champollion, wrote this name *Sme*,* with their phonetic characters. The Greeks wrote Θέμις. This goddess was the daughter of heaven and earth. In the Grecian mythology she was the goddess of truth or justice. The Greek version by Hermapion, of her hieroglyph, found on an obelisk, is Αλήθεια. Now *Themis*, in the Berber language, signifies *fire*, the great elemental principle of nature, and the symbol of purity. The Romans and we derived *puritas* and *purity* from πῦρ *fire*, the purest of all the elements; why could not the name of the goddess of purity be derived from a Berber word, having the same sound and the same signification? I submit this etymology to you; it may serve, at least, until a better one shall be found.

'3. *Thebes, Thebais.* History records, that after the demise of Menes or Osiris, Egypt comprised four dynasties: Thebes, Thin, Memphis and Tunis. Thebes was the capital of Thebais, in what the ancient geographers call *Ægyptus Superior*, or upper Egypt. The following passage from Diodorus appears to me, if not fully to establish, at least to give great probability to the etymology which I shall presently mention. In the fifth book of his history, De Osiride et Iside, he says: Κτίσαι δέ φάσι τοτὲ περὶ τὸν Οσίριν πόλιν ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἑκατόμπυλον· ἣν ἐκείνοις μὲν ἐπώνυμον ποίησαι τῆς μήτρος. "It remains to be said of Osiris, that he built a city of one hundred gates in Thebais, to which he gave the name of *Mother*."

'The explanation of this passage can only be found by recurring to the Berber language. In that idiom, *Thebais* or *Thebaish* signifies the breast of a woman, *mamma*, while *Tamazegth* is the

* M. Champollion, *Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique*, pp. 265, 267, 281, second edition, calls this Egyptian goddess *Tme* or *Thmei*, which brings this name still nearer to the Berber word *Themis*, which the Greeks have preserved without variation.

dug or teat of an animal. If by metonymy we say *mamma* for *mother*, may not the same license be allowed to Osiris? The celebrated Thebes, the hecatompylos of Homer, corresponded in magnitude and wealth to the populous and fertile district of Thebais. That region and its splendid capital merited the appellation of *mother country* and *maternal city*, and in this sense, probably, the Greeks adopted, and we still use the word *metropolis*.'

'4. *Thot* or *Thoth*. This god was the Egyptian Hermes or Mercury. *Theut*, *Thut* or *Thot* in the Berber language signifies the *eye*, and this appellation seems to me distinctly to characterise the winged messenger and plenipotentiary of the gods, and the vigilant guardian of Juno. The early Greek historians relate, that when Osiris set out on his expedition, with the view of traversing the globe, he left the administration of his kingdom to his wife Isis, and appointed *Thoth* to be her counsellor. Vigilance and prudence, therefore, must have been the qualities that recommended him to that high trust. The Egyptians, according to Champollion, ignorant of the author of their phonetic signs, attributed the invention to Thoth, who was esteemed the father of arts and sciences. With these qualifications, he might well have been entitled to the allegoric name of the *eye*, so well adapted to the objects of his celestial office.

'I beg leave to trouble you with a few more observations.

'The ancient city of Egypt, called *On* by the Hebrews and *Heliopolis* by the Greeks, was by the Egyptians named *Tadis* (Vide D'Herbelot). The Arabs, following the analogy of the Greek denomination, called this city *Ain-el-Schems*, the eye of the sun. This corresponds with the Greek Heliopolis. The import of the Egyptian *Tadis* would not have been known probably, but for Berber etymology. In this language, *Tadij* signifies the sun.'

The derivations of Thebes and of Tadis appear to us to be satisfactory; the others, and particularly that of Ammon, are plausible, though somewhat less decisive. The name of the river Nile, of which no account has been hitherto given, is traced by Mr. Hodgson to the same language.

'I now come to the famous river *Nile*. In the first book of either Herodotus or Diodorus Siculus, the Egyptians are said to have called the Nile *Oceanus*. *Ile* or *Illee*, in Berber means the sea, which may have been changed into *Nile*, thus: the inhabitants of Egypt probably gave to their sacred river some appellation, such as the father or fountain of the sea. With this supposition, *Nile* would be the genitive inflection "*of the sea*." If the ancient historians, whom I cannot now consult, report correctly, that the

Nile was called *Ocean*, then the sea, with the determinate masculine article, would be *Dhile*, which, in the softer enunciation of the Greeks, might have been made *Nile*. The Berber word for *sea*, I obtained after a long search, from a native of the island of Zerbi or Djerba, the ancient *Meninx*, in the Syrtis Minor. The inhabitants of this island were the Lotophagi of Homer. They speak the Berber language less mixed with Arabic than the Kabyles of Algiers.

'The structure of the Coptic language justifies the preceding derivation. From Champollion I learn that "en Copte, la préposition *n* remplace le cas génitif des Latins." (Précis, p. 129.) This is another coincidence to be added to what I said in my preceding letter on the similarity of forms between the Coptic and the Berber.

'To derive the appellation Nile from Hebrew or Arabic roots, as has been done by Pococke and other learned men, would be to suppose those to have been idioms of Egypt anterior to the flood. I have in my possession a valuable Arabic manuscript of Abou Abbas Ahmed Ben Josef, which he calls *Akhbar-ul-dowwel on Athar-ul-Ewwel*, in which is found a history of Egypt prior to the deluge, and the Nile was so called at that remote period. Whence Abou Abbas obtained his information, it would be curious to know; for no records or traditions of the condition of this globe previous to the grand cataclysm can be safely received, but from the Genesis of Moses.'

The Berbers are also known by the names of Kabyles and Tuarick, both according to our author signifying *Tribes*. The meaning of *Berber* he does not attempt to trace.

'Are the aborigines of North Africa known by any generic name; or do the various tribes bear, each, a particular appellation? To the first part of this question it is answered, that the term *Berber*, of which the plural form is *beraber*, is universally acknowledged by the original population of this country. I have conversed with natives of Morocco and of Tripoli, and every where the earlier Africans call themselves *Beraber*. The etymology of this word cannot now, perhaps, be ascertained; but its origin is probably anterior to the Roman domination. By the Arabian geographers and historians, *El Wardi*, *Māsoudi*, and *Achmed Tchelebi el Karamani*, the Berbers are distinctly mentioned as occupying the oases, and also various parts of North Africa. Leo Africanus proposes two derivations; the one from *Ber* signifying desert, and the other from *Burbrera, to mutter*. As etymologies are intimately connected with history and various local circumstances, of which I am ignorant in relation to Berber,

its derivation remains sub judice. Gibbon asserts that this word is of Greek origin, being the corruption of the epithet βάρβαροι, which was applied to all foreigners.'

It is probable that Gibbon has reversed the real derivation, and that *Berber*, instead of being derived from, is the root of the Greek βαρβάρος. The etymology of both these words has exercised the ingenuity of antiquarians, and given rise to many fanciful explanations, some of which are alluded to in the above extract. Mr. Hodgson states, that the term Berber is probably anterior to the Roman domination; but if it be, as he also supposes, the name by which these people are known among themselves, it is of course coeval with their residence in the country, and is anterior not merely to the Roman, but to the Carthaginian period, and as old as the oldest historical records. Herodotus in fact states, that the Egyptians called all who did not speak their language βαρβάρους, and it is probable that the Greeks borrowed the term from them both in its direct and extended signification.* If we consider the term βαρβάρους, as used by Herodotus, to be the proper name Berber, we cannot suppose with Mr. Hodgson, that the Egyptians spoke the Berber language. This is also on other accounts improbable. But although the Egyptian or ancient Coptic language was different from the Berber, it is natural enough that the former should have included a great many words, especially names of places and persons, which are significant in the latter. Of the two aboriginal races, into which the natives of Africa were anciently divided, and which were denominated by the Greeks the Ethiopians and the Libyans, the latter, who called themselves Berber, occupied the whole northern part of the Continent, including no doubt the Delta of the Nile, before its occupation by the Egyptians. Whether the ruling castes among the Egyptians descended the Nile from Ethiopia, or, as some suppose, came in by the sea-coast from Arabia, or whether, as is more probable, they were made up of contributions from both these sources, they must have been on any supposition foreign to the native Berber race, and must have spoken a different language. Hence the term Berber, as used by the Egyptian priests, would naturally indicate persons speaking a foreign language, which Herodotus tells us was the case. But it was also quite natural that when the Egyptians took possession of the

* Herod, II. 158. See also N. A. Review, XVI. 155.

country, they should have retained a great many of the Berber names of cities, rivers and other prominent objects. It is not more singular that the city Tadis or the river Nile should have Berber names,—if such in fact they be,—than that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts or the River Mississippi should have Indian ones. It would be more difficult to give a reason, why the names of the Egyptian divinities, such as Ammon and Themis should be significant in the Berber tongue, although this might perhaps be accounted for on the otherwise probable supposition of the common origin of all these neighboring races.

The sketch of a Berber Grammar which accompanies these letters is not without value, but is too imperfect to be entirely satisfactory. We are glad to learn from a passage in one of the letters, that it is the intention of Mr. Hodgson to publish a complete work on that subject, and we hope the change in his residence will not prevent him from accomplishing this intention. The Berber language has hitherto been very little studied, and a better acquaintance with it would throw much light on many important points in philology and ancient history.

The other work, to which we have now called the attention of our readers, is a translation by Mr. Hodgson of a curious Arabic manuscript, giving an account of a journey through several parts of North Africa, by a native of the country, who takes the style and title of Hadji Ebn-ed-Din El-Eghwaati, which is, by interpretation, The Pilgrim Ebn-ed-Din of Eghwaat, a town about two degrees to the South of Algiers. It is mentioned by Shaw under the name of Lowaate. The work is introduced by the following short and modest preface.

'I have prepared a translation of a small narrative of travels in North Africa, by Hadji Ebn-ed-din el-Eghwaati.

'This narrative was composed at my request, by the Hadji himself, on the Eastern condition of *peishkash*.

'I have thought that the narrative contained some notices on the geography of the interior of Africa, that might be advantageously used by future travellers. The greater part of the towns and people described by Ebn-ed-din are imperfectly known, and some of them have never been mentioned by any European traveller or geographer. Leo Africanus himself has not noticed them.

'My principal object in procuring this manuscript was to ascertain how far the Berber language prevailed. It is very satisfactorily shewn that this is the idiom of the aborigines every where

in North Africa. The supposition that some tribes in the vicinity of Tripoli speak the Coptic language, is sufficient to justify an investigation of their dialect. I should expect to find it to be Berber, corrupted by Phœnician, confirming what has been asserted by Strabo.'

The traveller commences his narrative by a description of Eghwaat, the place of his residence. After briefly noticing this and several other cities in the neighborhood, he proceeds to give an account of some of those in the oasis of Tuat in the middle of the great desert, including Timeemoun, a large town which has not been mentioned by any other traveller, and Shingita, a place a little to the northwest of Timbuctoo. Nothing is said of the last mentioned city, which the Pilgrim does not appear to have visited. He afterwards returns to his own neighborhood, gives an itinerary from Wergelah to Ghadames, with a description of that city and several others, near and on the coast, and concludes with a notice of Draieh in Arabia, one of the principal cities of the Wehabites.

From his introduction of a description of this city, as well as from sundry remarks interspersed through the narrative, we are inclined to suspect, that the worthy Pilgrim is no very orthodox Mussulman, but at bottom a sort of dissenter himself; although he is careful to make no unnecessary display of his opinions, and commences his narrative with the usual benediction upon 'our Lord Mohammed, his family and companions.' He observes throughout, in fact, a laudable discretion in regard to his personal concerns, and never introduces himself excepting in the laconic preface; 'This book contains a description of various places and countries by Hadji Ebn-ed-Din El-Eghwaati.' His manner is in general concise even to dryness, but withal apparently exact and judicious. There is no gossip about the private adventures of the inhabitants of the places that he visited,—no detail of conversations with his companions of the caravan,—no account of his entertainment at the Khans where he lodged on his route; nothing, in short, of all that fills the pages of those respectable personages who go forth under the patronage of 'the Row,' to 'take walk and make book.' The Pilgrim confines himself to a simple notice of the names of towns and of the distances between them, with a few remarks upon the more considerable places. Although his manner is certainly every way preferable to that of the Trollops, male and female, who habitually infest

this and all other civilized countries, we must needs say, that a rather more rich and complete account of places, so little known, would have been both curious and instructive. As a specimen of the style of the author, we extract the following description of his native city, and of some of the neighboring places.

'Eghwaat* is a large town, and is surrounded by a wall, with fortifications. It has four gates, and four mosques. The language of the inhabitants is Arabic; and they dress in woollen clothes. The women of the better class never leave their houses; but others appear in the streets. There are no baths in this town. The country produces fruits abundantly, among which are dates, figs, grapes, quinces, pomegranates, and pears.

'The town of Eghwaat is divided into two parts, by the river Emzee, which flows through it. This river is well known in all that region. The inhabitants themselves are divided into two parties, called *el-khelaf*, and *oulad-el-serghin*, which are often at war with each other. The cause of hostility between them, is generally the refusal of one of them to submit to the *Sheikh*.

'To the east of Eghwaat are the ruins of a town, whose princes, at an early period, were Christians. There are, at this day, many inscriptions to be seen among these ruins.

'The town of Eghwaat is built chiefly of clay or mud: there are, however, some houses constructed of mortar and stone. The mosques have no minarets; nor is there in the town any fixed market-place, nor any bath. The coin in circulation is that of Algiers and Fez. Trade is carried on here; and agriculture is attended to. Scorpions and the plague do not approach the town; because it was founded under a favorable horoscope. This region is very mountainous, and to the north there is a large mountain of rock.'

'At the distance of one day's journey to the north of Eghwaat, is situated the village of Tedjemout.† The inhabitants of this village are divided into two parties, and have no chief or governor. They fight with each other, as do the people of Eghwaat. The houses are built of stone and mud. To the north of Tedjemout is a very high mountain, called Djebel âmour.‡ There is also a mountain of salt near Djebel âmour.

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* 'This place is called Lowaate, by Shaw, ed. Oxford, 1738. Indeed he does not seem to have known that Eghwaat was a town, for he speaks of the Lowaate as Gætulian Arabs.

† 'The first account of the *bigential* towns of Africa, was published by Captain Lyons, who remarked this singular fact, in relation to Ghadames. The subject has since attracted the attention of the Société Géographique of Paris.

‡ 'Ammer of Shaw.'

'This town is situated to the west of Tedjemout. It is surrounded by walls similar to those of Tripoli, and has two immensely strong gates. The *hakem*, or governor, whose name is Ouled Tadjin, has about one hundred slaves, and a full treasury. Two years ago (1243 of the Hegira) his brother assembled troops for the purpose of marching against Oran, and seizing its treasures. All the Arabs of the surrounding country repaired to his standard; and they marched with drums and fifes, and were provided with horses and tents. Mascara fell into their hands, and they moved upon Oran. The Bey of Oran, to defeat this army, distributed money among the Arabs of the expedition, which withdrew them from supporting Ouled Tadjin, who was subsequently killed in an attack upon his troops by the Bey.

'His brother is now Hakem of Ain el-Madhi. He has a bath in the centre of the town; and among other splendid objects, he possesses saddles and trappings, embroidered with gold. He moreover owns a large library of books.

'The women of Ain el-Madhi appear in the markets. The distance of this town from Eghwaat is one day's journey.

'Djebel âmour is a very high mountain, and contains one hundred springs of water. A large river issues from it, which is called Alkhir, and is universally known. The land is cultivated upon this mountain; and it furnishes every description of timber. Its length and breadth may each be estimated at two days' journey. The natives rear camels; and some tend herds and flocks. They are good horsemen; their language is Arabic; and they are not governed by a Sultan.

'The number of armed men in Djebel âmour is about six thousand. Ain el-Madhi has about three hundred; and Eghwaat one thousand.'

The singular circumstance of the division into hostile parties, which is here noticed as distinguishing Eghwaat and Tedjemout, has also been observed at Ghadames and some other places. Mr. Hodgson has the following remarks upon this subject in his fourth letter.

'There is a political phenomenon in the social history of the Berbers, which is worthy of the attention of the antiquary and of the philosopher. The towns of *Ghadames*, *Wergelah*, *Eghwaat*, (*Lowaate* of Shaw) and *Tlemsan* are, each of them, divided into two, three or four distinct communities or tribes, who war with each other like the Kabyle classes of the mountains: to these towns there is a common wall; but each community has its particular section enclosed by an interior wall. Since the domination of the Turks, the Berbers have abandoned Tlemsan. Captain Lyon

made known this curious fact in relation to Ghadames, and Shaw to Tlemsan; but I believe I have first noticed the political constitution of Wergelah and Eghwaat. The Geographical Society of Paris thus remarks upon the subject: "ce fait étant important pour toute l'histoire de l'antiquité, on est prié d'obtenir le plus de détails possibles sur l'origine, la nature, les conditions et les résultats de cette union."'

The oasis of Mezzab, which according to Mr. Hodgson is about three hundred miles south of Algiers, is thus described.

'In this Wadey are six towns and villages, of which the largest is Ghardaieh. This town contains 2,400 houses, including mosques. Water is entirely procured from wells. It is surrounded by a wall, and has a large market-place, two minarets, and two gates. It is not under the government of a Sultan. The inhabitants speak the Berber language.

'In matters of faith the Mezzabies differ from the Arabs. They refuse reverence to the companions of the apostle of God (on whom be his benedictions and peace). They are opposed to the Sunnites, but agree in doctrine with the Wehabites, the Persians, and the inhabitants of Oman and Muscat.* All these people are Moätezelites, or dissenters. The Mezzabies are very temperate; they neither smoke tobacco nor drink wine. The Wadey produces dates.

'The natives of all this Sahara are familiar with the art of making gunpowder. The process is this: The earth or mortar of ruined towns is collected. This earth, which was originally saltish, is put into a large vessel, and water is poured upon it, in the same way that ashes are treated in the making of soap. The water thus obtained is boiled until it assumes consistency. A pound of this is then mixed with four pounds of sulphur and four pounds of charcoal of oleander wood. These ingredients are mixed together for the space of three hours, when the powder is made.'

The Mezzabies or Beni Mozab, *Sons of the Austere*, as they are otherwise called, are a rather singular race. They are white like the Tuarycks, and are probably a branch of the same family. The latter are thus described by El-Eghwaati.

'These are a powerful people. They are of very white complexion; and when they ride they use camels. Their food consists entirely of flesh and milk, not having any grain. They

* 'Shaw (p. 86), says they are of the sect Melaki. Ebn ed-Din shews, that they do not belong to either of the four great sects of Islam. They are, in fact, Wehabites, as described by Anastasius.

dress in a *Sai* of black cotton; and their *Serwal*, or pantaloons, are like those of the Christians. The Tuarycks pray standing, and cover their faces with a veil or piece of cotton. They never eat nor drink before persons. They *ghazzie*, that is, they make excursions into Soudan, and carry off slaves and property. This is a full and detailed account of the Tuarycks.'

Mr. Hodgson has an interesting article upon these people, who are also described by several late travellers, particularly Horneman and Major Denham. It is remarkable, that while the Tuarycks and Mezzabies are white, other tribes, inhabiting the same region, and speaking like them the Berber language, are black, with woolly hair and negro features. The fact may be accounted for, by supposing that the white tribes are Arabs, who came into the country, perhaps in very ancient times, by the sea-coast, and have adopted the language of the natives. Or it may be supposed, on the other hand, that the white tribes are the representatives of the original inhabitants, and that the black ones, interspersed among them and speaking the same language, have emigrated from the negro regions in the South. Future researches will probably determine which of these theories is the correct one, and of course, whether the ancient Berbers, who inhabited the north of Africa before the periods of Egypt and Carthage, were white or black.

Timeemoun, a city which has never before been mentioned by any traveller, is thus described by our author.

'Timeemoun is a large town: but has no walls like those for defence, for the houses are all compact. It has a large market-place. There are dates here, as well as other fruits, and an abundant supply of water. Here is also found a bed of *red alum*. The dialect of the natives is Berber. Their sheep, like those of Soudan, are covered with hair, resembling that of goats, of a black color, and have long tails. Horses are numerous. There is water in the centre of the town, which is brought there by pipes. A market is held here, where slaves and gold-dust in great quantities are bartered; the latter is sold by weight of *mitskal* and *aukiah*. The color of the inhabitants is various, white, red, and black; and they dress with woollen and cotton garments, and with a black *Sai*. The houses of Timeemoun are built of clay or mud, and it has four mosques. The inhabitants possess large flocks, and the Tuarycks carry on a traffic with them. They are true Mussulmans; they pray, give alms, and read the Koran.'

Our author describes, in the following manner, the mode of hunting the ostrich, which is practised by the natives of North Africa.

'The hunter mounts his horse, provided with necessary food, and takes with him some water. He rides slowly until the middle of the day, at which time the ostriches assemble in flocks of one hundred or more. As soon as they perceive a man, they fly from him. The pursuit is continued for four hours, or less, when, oppressed with thirst and fear, the ostrich begins to flag. The hunter, being provided with water, drinks when thirsty, and finally overtakes the exhausted bird, whose entrails are already consumed with heat. The hunter then strikes him upon the head, which brings him to the ground. Descending from his horse, the hunter cuts the throat of the ostrich.

'The hunter is attended by a man, who carries his provisions of food and water. This person follows the tracks made in the sand, until he comes up with his companion. They then place the ostrich upon a camel, and carry it home. This is the description of an ostrich hunt.'

The large and important city of Tuggurt is thus noticed by the Pilgrim.

'Tuggurt is a town of wealth and abundance. The country produces dates, figs, raisins, pomegranates, apples, apricots, peaches, and other fruits. The market of Tuggurt is very large. This town is the capital of that district, and has jurisdiction over twenty-four villages. It contains about 4000 houses, and is surrounded by walls, with gates. These are encircled by a fosse, which may be compared to a sea of water. It communicates with fountains of water, which all discharge into it. Over this ditch there are three bridges. The mosques have very high minarets.

'There is a race of people in Tuggurt called Medjehariah, who occupy one separate quarter of the town. They were Jews in former times; but to escape death, with which they were menaced by the natives, they made profession of Islam, and are now constant readers of the Koran, which they commit to memory. They are still distinguished by the complexion peculiar to the Jews; and their houses, like those of that nation, emit an offensive smell. They do not intermarry with the Arabs; and it rarely happens that an Arab takes a wife from among the Medjehariah.

'The governor of Tuggurt selects from among these people his scribes and book-keepers; but they are never admitted to the dignity of *Cadhi*, or *Imam*. They have mosques in their quarter

of the town, and they pray at the stated hours, except on the day of *djemât* (Friday,) which they do not observe as a sabbath. They possess great wealth. Their women appear in the market-places veiled, and converse in Hebrew among themselves, when they wish not to be understood. The governor of Tuggurt possesses a large stud of horses and saddles, with their trappings embroidered in gold. Drums are beat before him. He has the power of inflicting capital punishment; he burns houses, and seizes the property of individuals.

'From the top of the minarets in town, many villages and date plantations may be seen in the adjacent country. Nizlah, Tibesbest, Temise, Mogharin, Moghair, and other towns, to the number of twenty-four, are all seen from the minarets of Tuggurt. There are no stones to be met with here; but sources of water exist in abundance. The number of troops that can be raised is 5,000. The color of the population of Tuggurt is black, and they are called Erwagha.

'A liquor called *ekmy* is used by these people, which is extracted from the branches of the date-tree, by cutting and compressing them. They yield a liquid of reddish color, and sweet like sherbert. This is sold by measure in the markets.

'The seasons for ploughing in this country are October and May. No Arab comes to this place, excepting the sick of fever. There is a salt-bed at Tuggurt; and, indeed, the whole country is a *sibkah* of salt.

'The foregoing is a description of Tuggurt.'

The white people, here described as Jews, are spoken of by Mr. Hodgson in the following manner.

'In the city of Tuggurt, the capital of Wadreag, there exists a distinct race of white people, called by the Mohammedans *Muhedjerin*. The explanation of this term is found in the Koran of Maraccius or of Savary, in the Surat of Women, 88th verse. It is there applied to those who emigrate from their country, and adopt the religion of the prophet, upon which condition the faithful may receive them as friends and companions. The ancestors of these people are said to have been Israelites. To the woolly head and black skin of the Wadreagan, they present the striking contrast of light hair and fair complexion. They are Mohammedans, speak only the Arabic language, have a monopoly of the offices of state, under that of Sultan, and are, in fact, the monied and influential men. Are they of the *Leuco*, or white Ethiopians, of Pomponius Mela? Are they the lost tribes of Israel? The Falasha, a tribe of Jews discovered by Bruce in Abyssinia, still looked for the Messiah. At Tuggurt or *Jugurth*, Israel has for-

gotten Jerusalem; and yet the Jugurthans say, his right hand has not forgot its cunning.'

The account given by El Eghwaati of Draieh, in Arabia, one of the principal cities of the Wehabites, is as follows.

'We shall describe this country, that of Nedjed, and the Wehabite Arabs. Draieh is a large town, with walls, and defended by a considerable number of troops, composed of Wehabite Arabs. This town has mosques; but the people differ in their articles of faith from the inhabitants of Mecca, having no respect to the Prophet nor his companions. They profess to know *God* alone; and do not pray to the Prophet, nor do they read the Delil-el-Khairat. If they find it in the possession of any one, they beat the individual, and burn the book. The *tesbih*, or chaplet of beads, is not tolerated. If it be found in the hands of a person, he is punished, and being called an idolater, he is exhorted to return to God. These Arabs are a powerful tribe; none of them speak the Berber language. Their dress is a woollen caftan, fastened with a girdle of thongs of leather; and they tie round their heads silk handkerchiefs, dyed with saffron. This dye is highly esteemed by them, and bears the price of twenty-four of their dollars per pound. Their coin consists of dollars and sequins, which they call *Meshchas*. The arms in use among them are the spear and *djenbiah*, which is placed in the former. The *djenbiah* is a curved sword, about one dhrâa and a half long, and is keen in taking off the head. The Arabs call this weapon *asir*.

'The price of a horse in the market is thirty camels: the Arabs call their horses *kahalieh*, as a precious commodity. They are fine animals, and are as fleet as the wind. They are, at present, very rare, and are only found in the studs of princes in Egypt, Syria, and Fez.

'The actual Sultan of Draieh is Terki ouled Saoud. His predecessor was Saoud. The town is built of mud, lime, and stones. When a warlike expedition is proposed, 50,000 or more Arabs are assembled. In this region are many different people; some are fire-worshippers; others adore the sun; and some worship the pudenda of their wives and beasts. May God deliver us from this!

'These Arabs do not always ride with saddles. If there is to be a fight in the mountains, they ride without them; but they are used in the plains, where the Arabs mount with their swords. Some of the women fight by the side of their husbands. They are well supplied with arms.

'The color of these people is reddish. The foregoing is a

narrative of what we have seen, written in the year 1242, in the Rebia-el-tseni.'

The city here described is the Darayeh of Anastasius. The account of the history, opinions and manners of the Wehabites, contained in that very able and interesting work, is apparently the result of personal observation, and is by far the most complete that has yet been published. The reader, who is disposed to compare the naked outline which is here given of the original Wehabite capital, with the brilliant and lively picture of it presented in Mr. Hope's novel, will find the latter in the second volume, fourteenth and fifteenth chapters. We may remark *en passant*, that the right of that gentleman to the authorship of Anastasius has been of late occasionally questioned. It is rumored, we know not exactly on what authority, that the work was written by a Frenchman, who resided at Smyrna, and that Mr. Hope,—while on his travels in the east, —purchased the manuscript, which he afterwards translated and published as his own production. Perhaps the question of the authorship of this oriental Gil Blas, may be as much discussed hereafter, as that of the Spanish one has been already. However this may be, we venture to predict, that no one will ever contend with Mr. Hope for the honor of having written his Essay on Man.

The work before us was printed at London, at the expense of an association, which has lately been formed there for the purpose of publishing translations of valuable oriental works. They have already brought out a number of exceedingly curious and interesting books, and have in preparation many more, of which a catalogue, occupying four pages in small type, is given in an appendix to the work before us. Among them, we notice a History of the Berbers, translated from the Arabic of Ebn-Khaldun, by Professor Lee of Cambridge. This is represented as 'a rare and valuable Arabic work, containing an account of the origin, progress and decline of the dynasties which governed the northern coast of Africa.' It will probably throw a good deal of new light upon the subjects, that are briefly touched upon in the letters of Mr. Hodgson.

ART. V.—*Henderson's Iceland.*

Iceland: or the Journal of a Residence in that Island, during the Years 1814 *and* 1815*; containing Observations on the Natural Phenomena, History, Literature and Antiquities of the Island; and the Religion, Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants.* By EBENEZER HENDERSON, Doctor in Philosophy, &c. Abridged from the second Edinburgh Edition. Boston. Perkins and Marvin. 1831.

The early history of Iceland has received less attention, than it may fairly claim. An American, at least, ought to be familiar with the fortunes of those, to whom belongs the singular honor of discovering our continent, though it was reserved for a more fortunate race to make it the seat of empire. This information he may readily find in the recent work of our learned countryman, Mr. Wheaton, who has combined in it most of the facts, which a general reader would desire to know. There is one point only, to which we can now refer; and this, rather with the design of appealing to his authority, than to add any thing to what he has given. It relates to the beautiful form of civilization which started into life among these cold and barren rocks, like the magical vegetation of a polar spring, at a period when thick darkness covered the nations. About fifty years after the original settlement of the island, the singular spectacle was first presented of the change from barbarism to a state of refinement, which seems to belong to a later age than the opening of the tenth century. The Norwegians had established a patriarchal government, or a mitigated feudal system, on their first arrival. This was soon afterwards exchanged for an essentially republican form, some of the prominent details of which are found in the narrative of Dr. Henderson. The island, agreeably to its natural divisions, was separated into four provinces, over each of which a Chief Magistrate was chosen by the people to preside, the smallest proprietor of land being entitled to a vote. No precise account is given of the duties of this officer; but he is generally described as an arbiter in civil controversies, and a minister of religion. The provinces were subdivided into three or more prefectures, under the government of elective officers, who, like the

former, united various judicial and religious functions. There was a still farther division of the prefectures into districts, in which bailiffs were elected to decide inferior controversies, and to superintend the condition of the poor. An appeal was allowed from their decisions to the courts of the prefectures, whose judgments were subject in their turn to the revision of the tribunals of the province. These last were composed of deputies from the prefectures, convened on extraordinary occasions. The General Government was an assembly of persons from every quarter of the island, who exercised the supreme legislative power, and determined controversies in the last resort. A Chief Magistrate, chosen for that purpose by the people, presided in this assembly, and was invested with the additional dignities of chancellor and preserver of the laws.

This form of government undoubtedly presents substantially the features of democracy; but the account is not very clear as to the tenure of the various offices, nor so precise in other respects, as to enable us to determine with entire certainty the character of the system. We are bound to say, that there is a portentous difference between the view of it here given by Dr. Henderson, and that of Dr. Holland, who accompanied Sir George Mackenzie on his visit to the island. Both these gentlemen profess to have derived their information from the same historical sources; but the former, as we have perceived, describes the government as a pure republic, while the other insists that it was altogether aristocratic in its nature, and makes no mention of the trifling circumstance of the election of public officers by the people. We do not feel competent to decide, where these gentlemen disagree. This task may be safely intrusted to Mr. Wheaton, from whose remarks upon the subject it appears that, as is not unusual in such cases, both are partly right, and in some respects, in error. The chiefs who originally emigrated from Norway brought with them to the island a multitude of followers, whose relation towards them resembled that of the Roman client to his patron. Something of the feudal relation was long preserved, in their reverence for the patriarchal authority of their chiefs; but the possession of property and civil rights imparted to them a proud spirit of personal independence, which was confirmed by the agency they certainly exercised in the choice of various public officers. On the whole, the system was a remarkable devel-

opment of the republican principle; and it is a fact worthy of the observation of all who are interested to observe the operation of that principle, that it was accompanied by an extraordinary progress in some of the higher arts of civilization. Montesquieu expresses his admiration, that this great political conception should have originated in the forest. His surprise was not unwarranted; but the only forests of Iceland are those which are thrown upon it by the sea.

This form of government endured for three centuries. No sooner was it established, than the golden age of Iceland began to dawn; and many circumstances were combined to render this a very memorable period. It was not until ages afterwards, that the revival of learning took place in the South of Europe; and when it did, it was little more than the revival of the learning of earlier times; there was nothing in the new literature, which could be considered at all original or peculiar. The literature of Iceland, on the contrary, was altogether independent of ancient or foreign models; it was affected by no other influences than those arising from the character and feeling of the people; but it blended the imposing grandeur of the Scandinavian Mythology with the brilliancy of high poetical conception, in a language surpassed in copiousness and energy by no modern tongue. Her historians, who bore at the same time the sacred character of bards, went forth to foreign countries, proclaiming the deeds of Northern heroes in their bold and figurative recitations. They were the chosen companions of conquerors and kings; in the day of battle, a conspicuous station was sometimes assigned to them, that they might witness and relate its fortunes; and they took precedence of all others at the royal board in the festive hall. Such honors inspired them with lofty and chivalrous sentiments; nor is it fanciful to suppose, that the magnificence of their native scenery tended to produce a more enthusiastic feeling. The altar of the poet is erected in solitary places; the fire burns brightest, when he communes with nature in her scenes of wonder or of mystery. During the early period of the republic, their works were preserved only by memory; but they were afterwards written, and collected, and formed the literature of which we have already spoken. From this time, they obtained an influence over the popular mind, which is hardly yet impaired. The heart of the humblest cottager still burns within him, as he reads this record of his country's early glory. At the same time, the

lawgivers of Iceland brought with them from other lands the treasures of experience and wisdom. A code adapted to the necessities and situation of the people, unwritten indeed, but administered in the various tribunals, and preserved in the interpretations of the highest magistrate, already mentioned, thence known by the significant title of [Lögögumadr] the Living Law, was coeval with the republic, and survives in part in the recorded statutes of the present day.

Such was the condition of Iceland, before its glory was departed. Nothing more than the reflection of it now remains; but it is desirable to know something of the present state of a people, once so prosperous; and there is no better source from which to draw this information, than the work of Dr. Henderson. Very few travellers have been led by curiosity to wander on the borders of the arctic circle; considering the ordinary purposes for which they wander, they may as well take a different direction. The regions of luxury, refinement, and the arts now lie nearer to the sun. Civilization prefers the refuge of a milder climate. Here there is little to attract those, who care not to observe character and manners in peculiar situations, unless they wish to visit some of the grandest and most beautiful scenery of nature, or like Sir George Mackenzie, to study geology on the borders of a half extinguished volcano. The object of Dr. Henderson was like none of these; his was altogether a mission of charity. It is because his representations bear strongly the evidence of truth, that we are induced to notice them so long after their publication in his own country; though the traces of one traveller here are not soon obliterated by the footsteps of another, and we are acquainted with no more recent one than he. He went to Iceland as the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to inquire into the moral and religious situation of the people, and to provide them with the scriptures in their native tongue. We are unwilling, in mentioning the name of this association, to pass it by without remarking, how much, in common with others of similar name, it has accomplished for the benefit of men. The first suggestion of them was a great and fortunate conception. It was an attempt to embody in a visible form the high and comprehensive spirit of Christianity itself, as it came from above: not clinging with a convulsive grasp to ceremonies or unessential doctrines, as if they grew dearer in proportion as others rejected them, nor kindling dis-

sensions among its followers; but glowing with the beauty of unity and peace, and bearing with it the living evidence of its celestial origin. There is not a region beneath the sun, where the sound of these messengers of mercy has not gone forth; their name and praises are uttered in the palm-groves of the tropics, in the dreary wastes of polar snow, and the beautiful islands of the South sea:—wherever there is a heart to feel, or a tongue which can adequately tell, the good they have already done; and they are yet to be expressed with deeper gratitude in lands on which they shall hereafter bestow the gift of light and life.

Dr. Henderson set sail from Copenhagen in June 1814, and came in sight of Iceland on the 12th of July. A few days after, he landed at Reykiavik, the capital of the island. This is the spot, where, according to tradition, the first Norwegian settler fixed his residence, because the door-posts of his old habitation, which he had thrown into the sea by way of compass, came judiciously to anchor here. It is now a town of some note, in fact the only one which is fairly entitled to the name. In the spring it is resorted to by the inhabitants from every quarter of the country, to receive a scanty supply of foreign luxuries in exchange for their own productions. This circumstance, together with the fact that the highest civil dignitaries have selected it as their place of residence, have brought together a small number of the least gregarious people on earth; the whole population does not exceed that of the smallest of our villages. The market season was over before Dr. Henderson arrived, so that he lost his expected opportunity of meeting with individuals from all parts of the island, and was compelled, more for the benefit of his readers than his own convenience, to make several journeys in pursuit of them. Inns there are none, and their place is poorly supplied by a tent, which the traveller carries with him. The houses are in general too miserable, to render him at all ambitious to become the object of hospitality; though he has no reason to complain of a want of such liberality, as the means of the people will allow. The best road is a mere foot path, often diversified with frightful precipices of rock or lava. The baggage of the traveller is carried on the backs of horses, whose instinct is of more value in overcoming the difficulties of the journey, than the judgment of their masters. Strange tales of their sagacity had been told to our traveller, which

nothing but his own experience could induce him to believe. One evening, after crossing a rapid and dangerous stream, he found himself on the borders of a desert tract, through which the path was not to be distinguished in the dark. In this emergency, he bethought himself of placing the oldest and most discreet of his horses in the van, and suffering it to select its own course. After riding several miles, his progress was stopped by an elevation, over which he passed several times without being able to ascertain its nature; until one of his servants chanced to perceive a window, and it was at length discovered, that they were mounted on the roof of the house which was the intended limit of that day's journey.

It would not be very edifying to the reader, to trace the course of Dr. Henderson very minutely through farms or villages, most of which are wholly unknown to the geographer. We shall therefore content ourselves with referring to some of the more important portions of his narrative. He first traversed the island in a northerly direction. On the evening of his first day's journey, he reached the borders of the Lake Thingvalla, near which is situated a village of the same name. In the immediate vicinity of the village is a spot, once the most important in the island, and still consecrated by many imposing associations. This is a long tract of solid lava, covered with the richest verdure of summer, but lying in the midst of utter desolation. On each side, ravines of unfathomable depth divide it from immense masses of rock and lava, piled up in wild disorder, as if thrown out by a volcano, and in just keeping with the horrors of the abyss between. Here, in the open air, the general assembly of the nation held its meetings for more than nine hundred years. It was thence appropriately called the mountain of the law. Here too, the decrees of the great tribunals of justice were pronounced; and here Christianity was solemnly proclaimed as the religion of the land, eight centuries ago. We may well conceive, that the pride of man would be humbled amidst these evidences of the operation of a higher power. It is not unreasonable to believe, that the magnificence and horror of the scene elevated and purified the minds of those who were appointed to ordain law, and administer justice; certain it is, that they imparted a reverence and solemnity to the decrees of these assemblies, which nothing else could give.

A code of laws, as we have already observed, was regularly

adopted by the people at Thingvalla in the early period of the republic. They were indebted for it to Ulfliot, one of their countrymen, who visited other countries of the north at an advanced age, in order to accomplish himself in the various branches of jurisprudence, and on his return submitted the results of his researches to the judgment of the civil authorities. The patriotism and learning of this remarkable person would have done honor to any age; and his system has received the enthusiastic approbation of those most competent to understand its merit. More than three centuries afterwards, another code, the substance of which is still in force, was adopted in the same manner; its spirit and character have not been materially changed by subsequent edicts of the Norwegian or Danish kings. At this day, the different departments of the law are accurately studied, and well understood. The penal law has nothing sanguinary in its character; the moral qualities of the people are such as to leave little room for the enforcement of its severest penalties. When, a few years since, a person who had been guilty of murder was condemned to die, no person could be found to undertake the office of executioner; the criminal was in consequence sent to Norway, where less scrupulous ministers of justice were procured. When an individual is accused of a crime, which does not subject him to the punishment of death, or imprisonment for life, there is no such thing as confinement before trial; he is only solemnly admonished by the ruler of his parish, not to stray beyond the limits of his jurisdiction. Some provisions of their civil code are evidently founded upon the old republican principle. The property of persons dying intestate is divided, and the only privilege of the eldest son is that of prior choice; the portion allotted to a daughter is half of that of a son; and half the estate is given to the widow in the way of dower. The early records of the country afford reason to believe, that the trial by jury was formerly in use; it is now wholly unknown.

The day after he left Thingvalla, Dr. Henderson reached the valley of those boiling fountains, which are well known under the appellation of the Geysers. A number of these springs are constantly in action; but there are two of them, the Great and the New, which particularly excite the curiosity of travellers. The first of these is a huge basin, more than one hundred and fifty feet in circumference, with an elevated

border, formed by the gradual deposites of the fountain; in this, the water is constantly rising or falling before or after an explosion. When Dr. Henderson first approached it, he found it in a state of comparative repose; in a few hours, the agitation of the earth around assured him, that he was about to witness its action in the most imposing form. The agitation gradually increased, until its noise resembled the rapid discharges of artillery; presently, a vast column of water was projected perpendicularly to a considerable height in the air, partially concealed from the view by thick clouds of vapor, and surrounded by a thousand jets, playing in every direction from its base, like those of an artificial fountain: then, as if it had gathered strength by repeated efforts, the torrent rushed madly up to a still greater elevation, until it appeared to exhaust its power, and sunk tranquilly down into its source. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the scene, when its waters are flashing in the sun, and the colors of the rainbow are reflected from its sides. The play of the New Geyser is still, if possible, more striking and sublime. Its force is proportionally increased by the smallness of the orifice from which it is projected; and its waters, in their wildest agitation, are thrown to the height of more than two hundred feet. Dr. Henderson exults in the discovery of the means of setting this tremendous enginery in motion, by casting stones into the spring. He was not aware that others had ascertained the same fact before him. We do not find, that he has attempted to explain the causes of its operation. It is commonly ascribed to the expansive force of steam confined in cavities beneath the surface; and there are abundant indications elsewhere, that the foundations of the island are somewhat insecurely laid over a volcano, which has made more than one attempt to resume its old dominion.

In the course of his journey to the north, Dr. Henderson found an opportunity to visit Thorlakson, the most distinguished poet of modern Iceland. The foes of pluralities will be comforted to learn, that this remarkable person, who is a clergyman in charge of two parishes, enjoys a salary of no more than thirty dollars a year, which he divides with another minister, who aids him in performing his parochial duty; his age and infirmity having disqualified him for officiating in both societies. His residence is in a singularly romantic and beautiful spot. Three rivers, each flowing through a small and fertile

valley, unite their waters into a broad and rapid stream before it; behind, several cataracts are tumbling over steep and craggy precipices; the distant prospect is bounded by the majestic outline of noble mountains. Nature has done her part to provide him with a poet's dwelling; and if poverty be the parent of inspiration, there are other circumstances in his situation eminently poetical; but the most wretched of the tuneful train could hardly envy the habitation in which his pearls of poetry are strung. The door of this edifice is four feet high; it leads into a single room, sufficiently large for a man of moderate size to repose at length, and containing the essential furniture of a bed and a table; over the latter, a small aperture, dignified by the name of window, admits the daylight of the arctic circle. This is the apartment, in which the veteran bard completed his translation of the Paradise Lost; a work, which is said to overflow with the spirit of its divine original; but unfortunately, the three first books of it alone are published, and his poverty will long prevent the publication of the rest. Not disheartened by this untoward circumstance, enough of itself to extinguish the ambition of writers of any other country, he has made some progress in the translation of Klopstock's Messiah. It must not be supposed, however, that he is a mere translator; his original writings are praised as full of force and beauty. Grondal, the author of various translations from the classic writers, and Finnur Magnuson, who is remarkable for the purity of his writings in Danish and Latin, as well as in his own language, are the only other recent poets, whose fame approaches that of Thorlakson.

After reaching the northern coast, Dr. Henderson directed his course towards the eastern shore, and travelled thence, in the vicinity of the sea, back to Reykiavik. In a journey like this, there was not much room for incident; the greatest natural curiosity which he encountered was the ice-mountain of Breidamark, in the south-easterly part of the island near the sea. It is more properly a plain than a mountain; though towering to a great height, its top is a vast and level field of ice, extending nearly twenty miles to the north-west till it reaches the Oræfa-Yokul, which rises to the height of more than six thousand feet; two thousand higher than Mount Hekla. The tract covered by the Breidamark was once a fertile region, through which the waters flowing from the mountains of the interior found their way to the ocean, carrying with them in

their progress masses of ice, which, settling on the plain, gradually accumulated into an immense unbroken glacier. This has been for centuries advancing towards the sea-shore, sometimes with a rapidity which it is difficult to explain. When Dr. Henderson passed round its base, it had completely covered the track of travellers of the preceding year. In 1793, it advanced more than two hundred fathoms. If it should continue to press forward in the same manner, the communication between the southern and eastern districts by this route, now the usual and only eligible one, will be entirely lost.

The Oræfa mountain, just mentioned, is not only the loftiest in Iceland, but has been rendered remarkable by the great devastation made by its eruption about a century ago. Nothing can be more striking than the account of this calamity given by Jon Thorlakson, the aged minister of a neighboring parish. He was in the midst of his service on the Sabbath, when the agitation of the earth gave warning, that some alarming event was to follow. Rushing from the church, he saw a peak of the neighboring mountain alternately heaved up and sinking; the next day, this portion of the mountain ran down into the plain, like melted metal from a crucible, filling it to such a height, that, as he says, no more of a mountain which formerly towered above it could be seen, than about the size of a bird; volumes of water being in the mean time thrown forth in a deluge from the crater, sweeping away whatever they encountered in their course. The Oræfa itself then broke forth, hurling huge masses of ice to a great distance; fire burst out in every direction from its sides; the sky was darkened by the smoke and ashes, so that the day could hardly be distinguished from the night. This scene of horror continued for more than three days, during which the whole region was converted into utter desolation. But even this was surpassed by the eruption of the Skaptar, another ice-mountain situated in the same quarter of the island at a considerable distance from the sea, which took place about fifty years ago, spreading its torrent of lava an hundred feet in depth, to the distance of forty or fifty miles on two of its sides. Mount Hekla is in danger of losing its reputation as a volcano. It sinks into insignificance when compared with some of the other burning mountains of the island, though it appears to have exceeded them all in the number of its eruptions. Dr. Henderson passed near its base, without attempting to ascend it.

But his neglect to do this did not arise from want of enterprise or curiosity; as he afterwards accomplished the more difficult task of ascending the Snæfell, a mountain which stretches through the whole length of a large peninsula on the western coast. On the summit, a tutelary divinity is supposed by the natives to reside, who is indignant when the pure atmosphere of his lofty abode is profaned by the breath of man. He found nothing but a prospect of astonishing magnificence and beauty to reward him for his toil.

The following description is given by Dr. Henderson of the sulphur springs near Reykiahlid, in the northern part of the island. After ascending the Sulphur mountain, from which sulphur is taken by the peasants as an article of commerce, he witnessed a scene, of which he gives this account.

'Almost directly below the brink on which I stood, at the depth of more than six hundred feet, lay a row of large caldrons of boiling mud, twelve in number, which were in full and constant action; roaring, splashing, and sending forth immense columns of dense vapor, that, rising and spreading in the atmosphere, in a great measure intercepted the rays of the sun, who stood high above the horizon in the same direction. The boldest strokes of poetic fiction would be utterly inadequate to a literal description of the awful realities of this place; nor can any ideas, formed by the strongest human imagination, reach half the grandeur, or the terrors, of the prospect. I stood for about a quarter of an hour as if I had been petrified, with my eyes intensely fixed on the dreadful operations that were going on in the abyss below me, when turning to the left, I had a full view of the tremendous Krabla, the Obsidian mountain, and two or three other volcanic mountains, whose names I could not learn with any certainty.

'Leading our horses down the side of the mountain, in a zig-zag direction, we advanced towards the *hverar;* but as the steeds grew rather restive, and the soil began to lose its firmness, we left them behind us, and proceeded, with wary step, among numerous burning quagmires, till we came close to the springs. Excepting two, which lie at the distance of twenty yards from the rest, they are all crowded together into one vast chasm of the lava. Some of them remain stationary within the crevice, but roar terribly, and emit much steam; others boil violently, and splash their black muddy contents round the orifice of the pit; while two or three jet, at intervals, to the height of four or five feet. The most remarkable, however, is that at the northern extremity of the chasm. Its smallest diameter, down at the surface of the puddle, may be about fourteen feet, but it opens

gradually to the edge, where the chasm is at least twenty feet across. The water, which was quite turbid and black, was comparatively quiet about two minutes, when it broke forth in a most furious manner, jetting to the height of between ten and fifteen feet, and splashing between the jets, in oblique directions, on every side, which rendered it dangerous to stand near the margin. What increased the danger, was the softness of the soil, which appeared to fill other chasms close to the great one, so that, on making a sudden leap to avoid being scalded, a person can hardly avoid plunging into semi-liquid beds of hot clay and sulphur, an alternative still more shocking. The jetting is accompanied by a harsh roar, and the escape of a vast quantity of vapor strongly impregnated with sulphur.'

Dr. Henderson thus describes the harvest-home, and the ordinary occupations of the people during the winter. We may here remark, that he was led to the opinion, that the winters of Iceland were not remarkably severe; but the one which he passed there was considered far milder than usual. From the accounts of other travellers, however, it would appear, that the cold, though long continued, is not commonly so great as it is in the same latitude on the continent.

'The most important branch of rural labor in Iceland, is the hay-making. About the middle of July, the peasant begins to cut down the grass of the tûn (the green around his house), which is immediately gathered to a convenient place, in order to dry, and after having been turned once or twice, is conveyed home on horseback to the yard, where it is made up into stacks. At the poorer farms, both men and women handle the scythe; but in general, the women only assist in making the hay after it is cut. In many parts of the island, where there is much hay, the peasants hire men from the fishing plains, who are paid for their labor at the rate of thirty pounds of butter a week. They cut by measurement; the daily task being about thirty square fathoms.

'Hay-harvest being over, the sheep and cattle that had been out all summer on the mountains are collected; the houses are put into a state of repair for the winter; the wood needed for domestic purposes is brought home to each farm; the turf is also taken in.

'During the winter, the care of the cattle and the sheep devolves entirely on the men; and consists chiefly in feeding and watering the former, which are kept in the house, while the latter are turned out in the day-time to seek their food through the snow. When the snow happens to be so deep, that they cannot

scrape it away themselves, the boys do it for them; and as the sustenance thus procured is exceedingly scanty, they generally get a little of the meadow hay about this time. The farm hay is given to the cows alone. All the horses, excepting perhaps a favorite riding horse, are left to shift for themselves the whole winter, during which season they never lie down, but rest themselves by standing in some place of shelter.

'The domestic employments of this season are multiplied and various. The men are occupied in fabricating necessary implements of iron, copper, wood, &c.; and some of them are wonderfully expert, as silversmiths; their work, at times, in this, being only distinguishable from that done in Copenhagen by the absence of the stamp. They also prepare hides for shoes; make ropes of hair or wool; and full the woollen stuffs, which is generally effected in the following curious manner. Both ends being knocked out of a barrel, it is filled with the articles to be fulled, when it is laid on the side, and two men lie down on their backs, one at either end, with their feet in the barrel, and literally *walk* the cloth, by kicking it against each other. Smaller articles they full by placing them between their knees and breast, and then moving backwards and forwards with the body, turning them always with their hands till ready. This accounts for the very awkward motion which the Icelanders almost always fall into when sitting, and from which many of them cannot refrain even in church. The fishermen full their mittens by dipping them now and then in the salt water, while plying at the oar. In some parts of the country, the men also spin and knit like the women, and some of them weave.'

We have already observed, that it is not our purpose to follow Dr. Henderson in his various journeys, through places that are hardly known except by his descriptions; and we turn with more pleasure to those portions of his work, in which he describes the character and manners of the present inhabitants of the island. We are naturally curious to know what traces of their ancient state are yet to be discovered, now that their light is diminished by the increasing splendor of that of other nations. Their means of literary improvement are at this time limited and few; but the love of literature has not passed away; and it is surprising to see with what tenacity they cling to it, under every disadvantage. Only a single school remains in the island; and the privileges of that are exclusively reserved for those who are destined to fill the various offices of church and state. Parish schools, and institutions of any sort for general education, are altogether unknown;

the law makes no provision; so that little is to be expected, except what chance or individual exertion may do. The only regulation which bears the semblance of a legal provision for instruction, is one, by which every clergyman is required to teach his parishioners of all ages the catechism at least twice a year. A century ago, there were several schools established in various districts, the endowments of which have since been taken by the Danish crown, and given to the single one at Reykiavik, which has been already mentioned. This is calculated to receive no more than twenty-five scholars; and besides being thus limited in the extent of its advantages, its popularity has been diminished by the objections of many to certain religious sentiments embraced by its instructers. In the absence of the ordinary means of education, and separated from each other as individuals and families are during the long and dreary winter season, it might be expected that the people would decline into a state of hopeless ignorance; but the fact is otherwise; every defect is as far as possible supplied by a system of which no better examples can be elsewhere found. It is the grateful task of the parent to instruct the child; in this way, he relieves the weariness and solitude of winter; and from it is derived a fertile source of happiness. Dr. Henderson has given us a pleasing description of a winter evening in an Icelandic family, when all its members are assembled to pursue their various tasks, while the Sagas, or some other historical or religious works, are read by one and commented on by the rest. Owing to the deficiency of books, they are compelled to copy such as can be had for this purpose; often, some itinerant historian, whose memory is stored with legendary tales, claims their hospitality, until his literary resources run low, when he finds a willing audience in another cottage. All travellers agree, that it is rare to find an individual who can neither write nor read; the hand-writing of many is described as being of remarkable beauty. With such a disposition for acquiring knowledge, and so much leisure as their climate gives them, it is unfortunate that their opportunities should be no greater. The only printing-press of the island was for many years rendered useless, by an unhappy difference of opinion. Its proprietor was convinced, that his own works were the only ones worth reading, and refused to publish any other; while the people were equally strong in the belief, that there were scarcely any which were less so; and refused in consequence to

buy them, excepting in the last extremity. We ought, perhaps, to qualify the remark, that the law does nothing to aid the spirit of improvement; it interferes only in the way of penalty. The ecclesiastical code provides, that clergymen may prohibit the marriage of females who cannot write and read; and the ministers of justice, when inflicting punishment on the young for small offences, have occasionally applied the whip with great propriety to the parents also, for bringing them up so ill.

The character and efforts of the clergy have done much to cherish and promote this spirit. There is no country, in which this class of men are more true to their honorable calling, or revive more vividly the remembrance of the apostolic age. With a compensation, to which the most disinterested might object, and the mere name of which would freeze the blood of the incumbent of a princely benefice, scarcely a single instance is known, in which their conduct has brought discredit upon their sacred office. They are in general men of some literary ambition and attainment, as well as of pure and amiable character. The richest living has no higher revenue than two hundred dollars; that of the greater portion varies from thirty to fifty dollars; and there are several, in which it does not exceed five. Making every allowance for the high value of money, there is certainly nothing of affluence or luxury in such an income. Small glebes are often attached to the churches, but the benefits of these are limited by the unproductiveness of a soil, upon which no grain has been cultivated within the memory of man. A tithe is paid, not according to the produce, but the fixed rent of the land; but where this rent does not commonly exceed five or six dollars, it may be conceived that the portion of the clergy must border on the scanty. We are struck with admiration, when we see bright examples of genius, learning, and moral worth, shining out from these abodes of privation and wretchedness. Their habitations are earthen cottages, in no respect superior to those of the poorest peasant; stoves, or places for containing fire, are rarely found in them; there is but a single apartment, which has any other flooring than the naked earth; and it would be unjust to apply to their contents the name of furniture. Besides the manual labor by which the deficiencies of their compensation are supplied, they are compelled to encounter perils of every description in the discharge of their arduous duties: fording rivers swollen by the mountain torrents,

climbing precipices rendered dangerous by ice and snow, and wandering through wild and desolate tracts, in the dead of winter. Such men do no less honor to the Lutheran church of which they are members, than to the discriminating judgment of the various governors and bishops of Iceland; the dignitaries, to whom the selection of them is confided by the crown of Denmark.

Dr. Henderson, in common with other travellers, bears equally emphatic testimony to the general worth of the people. Even in Reykiavik, where the example of foreigners is very unfavorable to morality, it has had little influence on the character of the natives; and elsewhere, whether as some say, from the absence of temptation, or as others more charitably believe, from the general diffusion of religious principle, crimes of a heinous nature are hardly known. Their bearing indicates a lofty sense of personal independence; they feel a just pride in the glory of their ancestors, and the former distinction of their country; there is no people, who cherish a warmer feeling of patriotism or a deeper attachment to their native land; it is one of their favorite proverbs, that the sun shines on no happier region than their own. These characteristics are the more curious, because they are rarely found among a people whose physical condition is so little to be envied. It seems to be generally ordained in the system of Providence, that civilization shall find her permanent abodes, neither beneath the tropics, nor on the borders of the polar circle; neither in a land which yields its abundance without the intervention of labor, nor where a scanty subsistence is hardly wrung from the reluctant soil. For Iceland it seems to have been reserved to form a partial exception to this law; and it is the more honorable to her people, that they nearly triumphed over nature, in formerly maintaining wise institutions of government and law, and a commendable spirit of moral improvement now, on the very boundary of the habitable globe.

One or two extracts from this work will illustrate, as far as a few examples can, the intelligence and information of the peasantry.

'As I rode along,' says Dr. Henderson, 'I was entertained by the interesting conversation of a peasant, who was travelling to Reykiavik in order to dispose of his country produce. The knowledge he discovered of the geography and politics of Britain quite astonished me. He gave me a long detail of the events that transpired during the usurpation of Cromwell, and proposed

several questions relative to the Thames, Tay, Forth, &c. His acquaintance with these things he had derived principally from Danish books; and having lately fallen in with an interesting work in German, he has begun to learn that language, in order to make himself master of its contents.'

Of another peasant, the author says,

'Finding that he took a very lively interest in the success of the British and Foreign Bible Society, I gave him a brief view of the extent of its operations, and read to him the very interesting letter addressed by the King of Persia to Sir Gore Ouseley, relative to the new version of the Persian New Testament. Having mentioned that it was dated in the year 1229, a little boy, who was standing beside us, observed, that "it must be a very old letter." "No, my lad," replied the peasant, turning to him, "you must recollect that the letter is not written according to our computation; it is dated agreeably to the *Hegirah*."'

The success which attended our author's honorable mission, would of itself be enough to prove, that these representations are not exaggerated. Wherever he directed his course, he was received with kindness and almost with enthusiasm. The copies of the Scriptures among the islanders were nearly exhausted, and their own resources were inadequate to supply the deficiency; when the society, of which this gentleman was the agent, liberally interposed to relieve them. He found the clergy universally ready and anxious to second his benevolent efforts; the copies which he carried with him were received with unaffected gratitude, of which he has given several instances, that almost put the indifference of Christians elsewhere to shame. It is not the least among the evidences of this, that the venerable Thorlakson expressed his thanks to the society in a poem, which breathes much of the fire of his earlier days.

Some portions of the work have been omitted by the American publishers; but the more interesting parts are preserved entire, and its value to the general reader is very little, if at all, impaired. We should regret the loss of the appendix, in which the author treats at length of the literature of Iceland, if the information it contains were not readily found elsewhere. The work is not the production of a scientific traveller; the attention of Dr. Henderson was devoted to other objects than a critical examination of physical phenomena; but it gives a deep and familiar insight into the domestic character and manners of a

simple and virtuous community. Not that the author was indifferent to the natural wonders, which are so liberally scattered over the face of this wild and peculiar region; these he describes with animation and felicity; while the principal charm of his narrative arises from the fact, that it is a fireside picture.

ART. VI.—*Cholera.*

London Quarterly Review. No. XCI. Article VI. *On the Cholera.*

No apology can be necessary for calling the attention of our readers to the subject of the Cholera. The great extent of territory over which this scourge of the human race has already passed, the violence and fatality of its character, its total disregard of climate, the uncertainty as to the mode by which it is propagated, and above all, the well-grounded apprehension, that it may yet reach our continent, make it a topic of deep and fearful interest to the whole community. We feel it to be our imperative duty to contribute our aid to enlighten the public mind, and to allay, in some measure, the alarm that has been excited on this subject; and we know of no way of doing this so effectually, as by examining the mode in which the disease is propagated, or in other words, discussing the question, whether it be contagious or not. This can be done in a manner perfectly intelligible to all persons, merely by discarding the professional language, which is commonly used in this discussion, but which is by no means essential to the perfect understanding of the subject.

It is our intention, then, to confine ourselves to the examination of the question of contagion, leaving all the points connected with the history, symptoms, and mode of treatment of the disease, to professional works. These have all been ably treated in the numerous publications which this pestilence has brought to light, and they are the very topics on which those at a distance are the least able to give an opinion; while their situation, remote from the controversies that have been going on, enables them to examine the evidence as to the contagion of the disease with more fairness and impartiality, than those whose personal feelings have become enlisted on either side of the question.

As the article in the ninety-first number of the London Quarterly Review, on the subject of Cholera, has been extensively circulated in this country, and has produced a great influence on the public mind, and as it embodies nearly all the evidence and arguments in favor of the contagious character of the disease, we shall examine with some attention the reasons which the writer of it assigns for his opinion, and such others as we have seen in other writers, point out as far as we are able their fallacy, and then bring forward the evidence, which, to our minds, is irresistible against the doctrine of contagion.

It may be well to premise, that the terms *contagion* and *infection* are now often used in a very loose sense, one of them frequently in a different one from that which its etymology would indicate. By most writers, as in the article in the Quarterly Review, they are employed as synonymous terms. The term *contagious* (from *contingo*) was originally applied to those diseases only, which were communicated by *contact* with the sick, as the plague, itch, &c.; while that of *infectious* (from *inficio*) was employed to designate those which arose from any noxious matter, whether proceeding from a diseased animal body, or any other source; so that all contagious diseases were embraced under the term infectious, though all infectious ones were by no means included under that of contagious. But the term contagion is not now used in this restricted sense, either by medical or popular writers. All diseases are at the present day called contagious, which can be communicated from the sick to the well, without regard to contact; and it is not uncommon to use the term infectious as synonymous with it, though it is also employed to denote those diseases, which arise in certain seasons and climates from noxious exhalations. The fact then seems to be, that the term contagion has a more extended meaning than formerly, and we shall accordingly use it to denote that property of a disease, which enables it to communicate the same disease to those in health, either immediately or mediately, that is, either by contact or by imparting the contagious principle to the air or other inanimate substances.

The Cholera had occasionally appeared for many years in various parts of India, but it did not, till the year 1817, assume the epidemic and fatal character, which it has since exhibited in so remarkable a degree. In that year, it is admitted by all

writers that it broke out simultaneously in different parts of the province of Bengal, appearing as an endemic, dependent on the state of the soil, climate, season, or atmosphere, and that it was not owing to contagion. This is conceded by Scott, Kennedy, and others, who contend for its contagious character, as well as by those who deny it. But the two parties differ entirely as to the mode in which it was afterwards propagated; one contending that it is by contagion, while the other insists, that it is dependent on a peculiar state of the atmosphere, not cognizable by our senses. We shall not notice the opinion of those, who attribute it to a combination of these two causes, as it is unphilosophical to assign two causes for an effect, when one is sufficient to account for it; nor that which considers that it may be owing to some noxious exhalations from the earth, for it has raged with great violence, particularly at Orenburgh, during the severity of winter, and when the earth was covered with snow.

In India, the opposers of the doctrine of contagion were by far the most numerous. It is remarked by Mr. William Scott, the author of the Madras Report, and a decided advocate of the contagiousness of the disease, that 'if this question could have been decided simply by the opinions of a majority of medical men, it would have been already set at rest *against the doctrine of contagion* or infection; for there are few subjects, perhaps, on which so little diversity of sentiment has existed.' But as questions of this sort cannot be settled in this way, let us look a little at the reasons assigned by the advocates of contagion for their opinion.

One of the reasons assigned in the Review is, that the Cholera, in its progress both in Asia and Europe, has passed along 'the great thoroughfares of the country,' through which it has travelled. This no doubt is true in part, but it has not been confined to those thoroughfares, nor does it follow all of them. It appeared at Calcutta as early as August, 1817, and though there was constant intercourse by water with Madras, it did not reach the latter place till October, 1818, travelling at the rate of little more than two miles a day, and visiting all the intermediate places. Now does this look like the course of a contagious disease? Does it not look rather like the progress of some atmospheric poison? If it had been propagated by contagion, is it not probable, as there were no quarantines, no interruption of intercourse with the sick, that some, who had

become infected would have left the city immediately after, before they were aware of it, and sickened with the disease at a distance? Is it not probable, that it would have appeared on board of some of the country trading ships bound to Madras, and thus have been conveyed to that city in a few weeks or months at the farthest, if it could have been so conveyed, instead of passing over land at a regular and slow rate of progress, and not reaching Madras till more than a year had elapsed?

It is well known that the Cholera spread in various directions from the province of Bengal, travelling towards China in one direction, across the Delta of the Ganges in another, and extending on the south and east nearly to New Holland. If it were propagated by contagion, why did it stop there? Why did it not extend itself over the vast continent of New Holland, passing along the great thoroughfares of the country? There were routes of human intercourse in that direction, which it might traverse, and human beings enough for victims.

It is said with great confidence in the Quarterly Review, that 'whenever it invades a new country, it begins in a great commercial mart. There seems to be no exception to this law, except where the disease has been imported by invading armies.' The Cholera first broke out in Jessure in the interior, about sixty miles from Calcutta, in 1817, and it travelled over the peninsula of India in 1818, at the rate of about one degree a month, and did not reach the seaport of Madras, a great commercial mart, till it appeared simultaneously in parallel latitudes in the interior, though 'some of the many trading vessels must have carried it speedily from the tainted districts to the seat of the Presidency, had the disease been capable of being conveyed by man or merchandise.'* It reached Madras on the 8th of October, 1818, and on the 10th of that month, the port is annually closed for two months, in consequence of the surf and prevailing winds, and the small trading vessels are drawn up on land. Notwithstanding this interruption of human intercourse, this singular disease travelled on over the next five degrees of latitude, 'even more rapidly than over the former six,' and arrived at Cape Comorin by the 1st of January, 1819.

The facts just stated, and about which all the writers on the disease in the East are agreed, are a satisfactory refutation of

* Bell on the Cholera, page 80.

another assertion of the Quarterly Review, which is, that the Cholera 'does not attack a large space of territory of a new country at once, but gradually; the first point of attack being invariably on a frontier or coast.' This certainly was not the case in its progress in India; it appeared simultaneously in the interior and on the coast, and extended over a large tract of country at once.

Again, when it appeared on the Persian Gulf, it attacked several places remote from each other, simultaneously, passing over a great extent of territory. Yet the assertion we have just quoted from the Review is given as if it were a well known fact, universally admitted, in relation to the progress of the disease.

The reviewer states, as an additional argument in favor of the contagion of Cholera, 'that the rapidity of the propagation of the disease appears to have been proportional to the distances, and to the means of communication.' If the previous history of Cholera in Asia and the continent of Europe were not sufficient to satisfy him of the error of this statement, he must have perceived it before this time by what has occurred in the island of Great Britain. Three months nearly elapsed after it broke out in Sunderland, before it appeared in London, notwithstanding the shortness of the distance, the facility and frequency of the communication, and the absence of all quarantine on those who travelled by land.

Another reason, and perhaps the strongest that has ever been brought forward on that side of the question, and which is often urged in favor of the contagious character of Cholera is, that it extends itself in defiance of climate and season, and spreads as well in the cold regions of Russia as under the burning sun of the East, and regards neither the frosts of winter nor the heats of summer. It is not, perhaps, strictly true that it is wholly uninfluenced by season; it is supposed to have been checked between Arabia and Syria in 1821, and at Astrakhan in 1823, by the approach of winter; but it cannot be denied, that, though cold may retard its progress, it does not destroy the disease, and in some instances, as at Orenburgh, it does not seem to check it.

But does it differ in this independence of climate and season from other epidemics, that have been propagated by atmospheric influence?

'The Influenza of 1781 and 1782 is said to have originated

in China, and to have travelled through Asia into Europe; where it crossed the Atlantic, and arrived the ensuing year in America.'*

The Influenza of 1815 originated also in China and spread throughout Asia, Europe and this country. It has been stated in regard to the epidemic of that year, that the crews of several vessels on the Atlantic became affected with the disease at sea, in consequence of having fallen in with the current of air, which was bearing the germs of the Influenza across the Atlantic.

In the second volume of Freind's History of Physic may be found a short account of an epidemic that originated in Asia, about the year 1345, 'and from thence travelled over all the world, and destroyed a *fourth* part of mankind; in the East it lasted three years, and was more mortal.' Webster, in speaking of this pestilence, says, that the facts connected with it annihilate, at a blow, the whole doctrine of the propagation of that disease from country to country by infection.

The most remarkable epidemic, however, of which we can find any record, first appeared in the year 540. We extract the following account of it from Webster's History of Epidemic Diseases, who transcribed the particulars, he says, from Procopius and Evagrius, two contemporary historians;

'Procopius relates, that this pestilence, which almost destroyed the human race, and for which no cause could be assigned but the will of God, did not rage in one part of the world only, nor in one season of the year. It ravaged the whole world, seizing all descriptions of people, without regard to different constitutions, habits, or ages; and without regard to their places of residence, their modes of subsistence, or their different pursuits. Some were seized in winter, some in summer, others in other seasons of the year.

'It first appeared in Pelusium, in Egypt, and thence spread westward to Alexandria, and all parts of Egypt; eastward towards Palestine, and extended to all parts of the world,—laying waste islands, caves, mountains, and all places where man dwelt. If it passed by a particular country at first, or *slightly affected it*, it soon returned upon it with the same desolating rage which other places had experienced. It began in maritime towns, and spread to the interior country.

'Neither physician nor attendant caught the distemper by contact of the sick or dead; and many, encouraged by their wonderful escape, applied themselves with assiduity to the care of the sick and the burial of the deceased.'

* Hawkins on Cholera, page 208.

We will make one short extract only from Evagrius.

'But what, above all, appeared singular and surprising was, that the inhabitants of infected places, removing their residence to places where the disease had not appeared, or did not prevail, were the only persons who fell victims to the plague in the cities which were not infected.'

The duration of this pestilence has been stated to have been fifty-two years, though Webster thinks that there was a series of severe epidemics during that period, and not a single epidemic only.

We have presented this account in the language of the writers themselves, lest we should be suspected of having given a coloring to it favorable to our own views. With the slightest attention, it will be seen how much this pestilence resembled the Cholera in its progress. It regarded neither climate, nor season, nor situation; if it passed by a place, it afterwards returned to attack it, as Cholera is known to do; and it began in maritime towns, as it has been said that Cholera does, and thence spread into the interior; and yet this was admitted to be an atmospheric disease, not communicated by contact of the sick or the dead.

We have now completed our examination of what the reviewer calls his first class of evidence, 'resting solely on those facts concerning the rise and progress of the malady which are admitted by every one,' and shall next pass in review his second class, or the direct evidence of the contagiousness of the disease. He divides this latter evidence into three kinds. The first proves the contagious character of the disease *positively*, as when it has been propagated by the known intercourse of the uninfected with the infected; the second proves it *negatively*, as when it is shown that they who avoid intercourse with the sick escape the malady, though living under the same general circumstances of climate, food, &c.; and the third includes what are called facts of coincidence, as when the disease breaks out in a healthy place, after the arrival, from infected places, of individuals not laboring under the malady. On this last order of facts, mainly depends the evidence in favor of the propagation of the disease by merchandise and other inanimate substances.

1. Under the first head, the reviewer adduces several facts to show that the Cholera broke out in places through which armies had marched, or that it attacked a detachment of troops before

uninfected, on joining another in which the disease existed. That our readers may be the better able to judge of the value of these facts, we must ask their attention to the following cases.

In November, 1817, the Cholera broke out in the great Indian army, under the command of the Marquis of Hastings, consisting of ten thousand troops and eighty thousand followers, then concentrated near the banks of the Sinde, in Bundlekund. Such was the violence of the disease, that in a little more than twelve days, nearly nine thousand persons fell victims to it. The commander, perceiving that the plans of his expedition would be frustrated, if the whole army were not destroyed by the disease, determined to change his place of encampment. Though compelled to leave many of the sick behind, he carried many with him, and at length pitched his tents fifty miles from his former position, on a dry and elevated spot; 'on the 19th he crossed the clear stream of the Betwah, and upon its high and dry banks at Erich, he got rid of the pestilence, and met with returning health.'*

Another case equally striking may be found in the same Report. An immense concourse of people, believed to be between one and two millions, were assembled on the banks of the Ganges in the month of April, to celebrate a religious festival.

'It is the custom of the pilgrims to repair to the bank of the river, where they pass the night with little, if any shelter; many persons being crowded together under the cover of a single blanket, thrown out as an awning. The temperature is very variable; the days being hot and the nights cold, with heavy dews, and sudden chilly blasts from clefts in the mountains.

'On the present occasion, these causes were sufficient to generate the Cholera; which broke out soon after the commencement of the ceremonies, and raged with such fury, that in less than eight days, it is said to have cut off above twenty thousand victims. But so confined was its influence, that it did not reach the village of Juwalapore, only seven miles distant; and ceased immediately on the concourse breaking up on the last day of the festival.'

At the one hundred and thirty third page of the work from which we have just quoted, may be found an account of the disease prevailing to a great extent in a detachment of troops, yet, on joining another body only five miles distant, though the men of this party, who had been exposed to the disease, mixed

* Bengal Report, page 16.

promiscuously with those of the Sauger troops, yet of the latter, not one individual got the disease.

In a note in the two hundred and forty second page of Annesley's work on the diseases of India, is the following statement.

'Cholera attacked the field force stationed at Malligaum in Kandiesh, and raged with great violence amongst the corps posted on the left of the line; while the seventeenth battalion of native infantry, who were posted on the right of the line, were exempt from it, notwithstanding they had continued communication with the other men. But although they were exempt from the disease while they remained in this position, they suffered very much from Cholera on their march from Malligaum to join Major-General Sir John Doveton's force in the Ellichapoor valley.'

The latter part of this statement is highly important, as it shows that the exemption of the men did not arise from the absence of pre-disposition for the disease.

The information contained in the following extract from Mr. George H. Bell's admirable work on Cholera is so valuable, that we give it at length and in his own words.

'In July, 1819, I marched from Madras in medical charge of a large party of young officers, who had just arrived in India, and who were on their way to join regiments in the interior of the country. There was also a detachment of sepoys, and the usual numerous attendants and camp-followers of such a party in India. The Cholera prevailed in Madras when we left it. Until the fifth day's march, (fifty miles from Madras) no cases of the disease occurred. On that day several of the party were attacked on the line of march; and, during the next three stages, we continued to have additional cases. Cholera prevailed in the country through which we were passing. In consultation with the commanding officer of the detachment, it was determined that we should endeavor to leave the disease behind us; and as we were informed that the country behind the Ghauts was free of it, we marched without a halt, until we reached the high table land of Mysore. The consequence was, that we left the disease at Vallore, eighty-seven miles from Madras, and we had none of it until we had marched seventy miles farther, (seven stages) when we again found it at one of our appointed places of encampment. But our camp was, in consequence, pushed on a few miles, and only one case, a fatal one, occurred in the detachment. The man was attacked on the line of march. We again left the disease, and were free from it during the next hundred and fifteen miles of travelling. We then had it during three stages, and

found many villages deserted. We once more left it, and reached our journey's end, two hundred and sixty miles farther, without again meeting it. Thus, in a journey of five hundred and sixty miles, this detachment was exposed to, and left the disease behind it, four different times; and on none of these occasions did a single case occur beyond the tainted spots.' Pages 90, 91.

It appears, that in the four first cases just cited, large bodies of men, part of whom were then laboring under Cholera, and all of whom had been exposed to its atmosphere, on going into other districts and associating with those in health, did not in a single instance convey the disease to other persons; and in the extract from Mr. Bell, we see that men in health, while passing through an infected district, without any communication with any human beings who had the disease, became the subjects of it, and yet were unable to communicate it to others; and that the disease ceased as soon as they had passed through the infected district, and appeared again on entering another.

In stating that Cholera has frequently broken out during the march of troops in India, or when one detachment has joined another, as evidence of contagion, the writer seems to have forgotten the fact, that the exciting cause of the disease, whatever it may be, was every where lurking about in that country, waiting only for the pre-disposing causes to enable it to attack. Nothing is more likely to produce this pre-disposition, than the fatigue and exhaustion consequent on such marches in such a climate.

The occurrence of the disease in villages through which troops have passed, or its appearance in one detachment, which had been previously exempt, when another had joined it, ought to be considered, when viewed in connexion with the strong facts on the other side, as a coincidence that might occur in India at any time since Cholera was first epidemic there, or in any country where the disease prevailed. At any rate, it cannot be considered as *positive* evidence of contagion.

2d. We come now to the reviewer's second division of facts, which, according to him, prove the contagiousness of the disease *negatively*. These consist of statements of cases of individuals, who, in places where Cholera has prevailed, have escaped by insulating themselves and cutting off all communication with other parts of the infected district. This course was adopted by the French Consul, when the disease was at Aleppo. He retired with two hundred other persons to his

country seat, at some distance from the city, and they all escaped the epidemic by a rigid quarantine. 'The large establishment of military cadets at Moscow was preserved by a similar plan, from a scourge which was so active on all sides.' Whole towns are said to have escaped by adopting the same means.

We admit the facts stated above, but we by no means assent to the reason assigned for this exemption from the disease. Even the advocates of contagion acknowledge, that those only are attacked with Cholera who have a strong pre-disposition for it, and they place among the principal pre-disposing causes, intemperance and excess of all kinds, deficiency of food, food of bad quality, the debilitating passions of the mind, and excessive fatigue. Is it probable that persons thus secluded would labor under any of the pre-disposing causes? They are, for the most part, persons in health, of ample means to furnish themselves with all the comforts of life, and at the same time, aware of the danger of indulgence. It could not be expected that such persons would be attacked, unless the affecting cause were more virulent than ordinary.

But a perfect answer is, that all these precautionary measures have not unfrequently been unavailing, and that the disease has broken out in towns subjected to the most rigid quarantine, and in places perfectly insulated. This was the case at Thorn, as appears from the following extract of a letter from the British Minister at Berlin to Lord Palmerston, dated July 26th, 1831.

'My Lord,

'The Cholera has broken out at Thorn, notwithstanding the strict measures of precaution adopted there.'

'Signed, G. W. CHAD.'

The case of Egypt may be cited as an example of the same thing on a larger scale. The Quarterly Review, which contained the statement that this country had escaped the Cholera in consequence of the vigor of her quarantine system, was hardly out of the press, before the news arrived in England, that the disease had broken out in Egypt. In the London Medical Gazette of Jan. 14, 1832, will be found an extract from a letter announcing this fact.

It entered Prussia, notwithstanding all the efforts made to exclude it. In the proclamation of the King, dated Sept. 6th, 1831, he says, that the 'Asiatic Cholera had penetrated into

his dominions, in spite of measures the most vigorous, precautions the most active, and vigilance the most sustained, which had all proved useless and unsuccessful in averting or even checking its progress.'

Dr. Jaehnichen informs us, that the complete insulation of some persons, and even whole families, during the prevalence of the Cholera at Moscow, did not always preserve them from it.*

Mr. Scott, in the Madras Report, states, that 'at Masulipatam, a town on the Coromandel coast, the disease first appeared among the convicts confined in the fort, and that it was not till about ten days afterwards,—July 10, 1818,—that it was observed in the town and neighborhood.'

In the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal for Oct. 1831, will be found, in some observations on Cholera, by Dr. H. L. Gibbs, of St. Petersburgh, an account of a patient who was attacked with Cholera at the Naval Hospital and died of it. 'From the great precaution used in avoiding communication, this man, who was confined to his bed in the hospital, must have been affected, I think, by pre-disposition idiopathically;' and it appears that no other person, either before or after, had the disease in the Hospital.

The exemption from Cholera of some who have secluded themselves, while it was raging in this vicinity, does not prove that it is propagated by contagion, while its attack of others who have been equally secluded, shows that it can be, sometimes at least, propagated by other means, and this is sufficient for our purpose.

3d. We come now to the third division, the *facts of coincidence*, as when the Cholera breaks out in a healthy place after the arrival, from infected places, of individuals who do not themselves labor under the malady. On these facts depends the evidence in favor of infection by merchandise or other inanimate substances. We shall examine two of the most important facts which the reviewer brings forward, merely remarking, that if we can prove, as we think we shall be able to do, that the disease cannot be propagated by inanimate substances, the whole of this division falls to the ground.

The first of these facts is the supposed introduction of the Cholera into the Mauritius from Ceylon, by the Topaz frigate. The disease reached Ceylon in 1818, but it did not appear in the Isle of France till 1819, at which time the reviewer says

* Page 24 of his work on the Cholera.

it was carried there by the frigate above named. In answer to this we will give an extract from an article in the Asiatic Journal, on the Cholera, in which, by the way, the doctrine of contagion is maintained.

'The disease appeared extensively in the Island in November, 1819, and has been supposed to have been brought thither from Ceylon, by the Topaz frigate, which arrived at the Mauritius in October. But a careful inquiry into the circumstances of the case convinced a committee of British medical officers, that the disease was not imported, nor of foreign growth. In their report, dated 4th of December, they state, that the first case occurred so early as the 6th of September, and "that they feel the strongest persuasion that it is not of a contagious nature, and that it is not of foreign introduction." In these two conclusions the French medical gentlemen unanimously concurred, and both considered the disorder as promoted, if not produced, by the great and sudden vicissitudes in the temperature. The report adds, that a similar epidemic prevailed in the colony for some time in the year 1775.'

Admitting, what we are by no means disposed to do, that the statement of the medical gentlemen of the Island is incorrect, it is not pretended by the reviewer that there were any cases of the disease on board the frigate at the time of her arrival, or that any cases appeared there before the 18th of November, three weeks after, a period rather too long to suppose it possible that there could be any connexion between them and the ship. Even the British Board of Health, all firm believers in contagion, have fixed the ultimate period, which elapses between exposure to the cause and the appearance of the disease, at five days. It is, perhaps, proper to observe, that the reviewer says that the disease was propagated in Mauritius by goods or inanimate substances, which were carried there by the Topaz. We shall see, in speaking of the Cholera at Warsaw, on what foundation this opinion rests.

From the Isle of France, he states that it was conveyed to the Island of Bourbon, and speaks with some degree of triumph of the means that were adopted there to arrest its progress. His facts are all derived from Mr. Kennedy's work, for which we cannot be suspected of having any very strong partiality, when we state, that he is so decided an advocate of contagion, that he will not consent to call the disease by any other name than that of the *contagious Cholera.* We will therefore make the following extract from his book, and then offer a few comments.

'Taking advantage of the terrible example afforded in Mauritius, the governor of Bourbon, a neighboring Island, distant about two degrees, adopted sanitary precaution to exclude the contagion. On the 7th of January, however, a vessel called the Pic-Var, from Port Louis, arrived off Bourbon, and had intercourse with the shore. The Cholera broke out seven days afterwards, in the town of St. Denis. Nothing dismayed by this unfortunate circumstance, the governor ordered cordons of troops to be posted to cut off all communication with St. Denis, the focus of the malady, and a lazaretto was established for the reception of such persons as might be attacked. Cordons were also established for their preservation at St. Susanne, St. André, and St. Benoit; but in the consternation which seized the inhabitants of these parishes, they dispersed, to seek safety in the interior of the country. The alarm created by the pestilence in Bourbon, and the vigorous proceedings of the governor, Baron de Mylius, may be conceived from the concluding sentence of the Order of the Day, which was, *surveillance ou la mort.* The consequences of these measures corresponded to the decision with which they were carried into effect. The Cholera did not extend in Bourbon, as it had done in Mauritius, and the whole number of the persons attacked scarcely amounted to a few hundreds.' Page 204.

Admitting all the facts to be as he has stated them, it will be seen in the first place, that there was no evidence that the Cholera was on board the vessel that arrived off Bourbon; in the second place, that the Cholera did not appear till seven days after she had had intercourse with the shore; and Mr. Kennedy, in another part of his work, lays it down as one of the laws of Cholera, that 'the period of time during which the contagion lies dormant in the system rarely exceeds three days; and lastly it appears, that though a cordon was established, to prevent the intercourse between those who had been exposed to the sick and the other inhabitants of the Island, yet all those who had been thus exposed, broke through the cordon and sought safety in the interior of the country. And what was the consequence? No one was attacked with the disease who went into the country, no one communicated it to another, and 'the Cholera did not extend in Bourbon, as it had done in Mauritius.' A stronger case against contagion can hardly be imagined than this.

The second case referred to in the Review, is the appearance of the disease at Warsaw. Let us look at the facts of the case. The battle of Iganie, between the Poles and the Russians, took place on the 10th of April, 1831, and on the night of

the 12th and 13th, twelve Polish soldiers were attacked with Cholera, which soon extended to others, both in Praga and Warsaw, situated on the opposite sides of the Vistula. It was at once asserted, that they contracted the disease from the Russian army. Is this probable? Is it possible that any man of that army could have gone into battle, while laboring under the Cholera? and if not, the Poles were of course not exposed to any *persons* who had the disease; and it must have been taken, if taken at all from the Russians, from the contagious matter adhering to their clothes, or other inanimate substances. This, in fact, seems to be the opinion of the reviewer.

We would remark in the first place, that it is very improbable that a contagious principle sufficiently powerful to affect others, could be carried about by individuals in their clothes, without affecting themselves. And in the second place, most of the contagionists are now of opinion, that the disease cannot be communicated by inanimate substances. In the official reports made to the British Government, by Drs. Russell and Barry, will be found a paper from Dr. Doepp, Director of the Foundling Hospital at St. Petersburgh, containing the following statement.

'I am of opinion that the exhalations of the sick are the carriers of the disease, but only so long as they retain their vaporous form. I have given myself great trouble to ascertain if the clothes and linen covered with the perspiration of the sick were capable of transmitting the contagion; but I could not meet with any instance of it. Children taken from the cold, clammy breast of the mother, or wet-nurse, and given over to another nurse to suckle, did not infect the latter. This occurred in my presence.'

Dr. Albers, in his report to the Prussian Government, concludes with the following sentence.

'I have met with no instance which could render it at all probable, that the Cholera is disseminated by inanimate objects.'

In an official report of the British Central Board of Health, all the members of which are contagionists, dated Jan. 4th, 1831, are some statements, which show the extreme improbability that the disease is ever propagated by inanimate substances.

'There is perhaps,' say they, 'no question in the whole range of sanitary police, in which so many and such irrefragable facts can be brought to bear as on this; derived, too, from the most

authentic and recent sources. Seven hundred and thirty-two ships, loaded with hemp and flax from infected ports of the Baltic, arrived at the different quarantine stations in this country between the 1st of June, and the 31st of December, 1831. Many vessels also arrived laden with wool and hides, yet not a single case of Cholera occurred on board any of these ships outside the Cattigate sea, nor amongst the people employed in opening and airing their cargoes in the lazarets.

'At the hemp and flax wharves at St. Petersburgh, where several thousand tons of these articles arrived during the spring and summer of this year, from places in the interior where Cholera existed at the time of their departure for the capital, the persons employed in bracking or sorting, and who generally passed the night amongst the bales, did not suffer so early in the season, nor so severely, as other classes of the general population.'

The evidence on this point, that the disease cannot be conveyed by merchandise, or other inanimate substances, is now considered by most, if not all the contagionists, as conclusive; otherwise we should produce much more to corroborate our opinion. This we think renders it clear, then, that the disease was not introduced into Poland in this way.

There really seems to be no difficulty, in accounting for the appearance of Cholera at Warsaw, on the supposition that it was an epidemic, propagated by the atmosphere. It might very justly be said, that the epidemic constitution of the air, which produces this disease, had reached Poland, and would attack those who were strongly pre-disposed to it. What stronger pre-disposition could be imagined, than the one which we know the Polish soldiers at that time possessed? We translate the following passage from the work of M. Brierre-de-Boismont, an intelligent French physician, and a believer in contagion, who went from Paris to examine the disease in Poland, and has since published an account of it.

'If we imagine,' says he, 'thousands of men, pale, haggard, sallow and emaciated, whose features denoted suffering, weakened by long marches and privations of every kind, bivouacking for five months of extreme cold, in the woods or on the ground, which was almost always marshy, we shall still have but an imperfect idea of the condition of these miserable victims of the war.'

When we consider, too, the excitement of the battle, and the fatigue and exhaustion consequent on it, there seems hardly a pre-disposing cause of the Cholera, which did not operate upon them.

We have thus noticed the facts and arguments brought forward by the reviewer, in favor of the contagion of Cholera; but as much light has been thrown on this subject by the progress of the disease during the last fifteen years, we must trespass a little longer on the patience of our readers.

It will be recollected, that this disease first appeared as an extensive epidemic, in the province of Bengal, in the summer of 1817. It reached Bombay in August, 1818, and from this place, the reviewer states that it was carried to the Arabian town of Muscat, about 300 leagues distant, situated at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. He takes some pains to show the great commercial relations subsisting between Bombay and the ports on the Persian Gulf as early as the year 1818, stating that there were at that time 120 ships, employing 1000 hands, besides '730 country ships, which, belonging to the various ports of the western coast of India, often touched at Muscat in their voyages to more distant lands.' The intercourse between Bombay and Muscat is no doubt great, and no quarantine was at any time imposed on the vessels, or on their cargoes, crews, or passengers, so that if the disease could have been conveyed in this way, it would no doubt have soon been done. But what was the fact? The Cholera did not appear in Muscat till June, 1821, nearly three years after it attacked Bombay, and no one has pretended to point out the ship that carried it there.

It appeared on both sides of the Persian Gulf, extending over a considerable part of Arabia and Persia. 'Bassora, which is situated at the head of this Gulf, on the river Euphrates, was attacked,' says the reviewer, 'nearly at the same time as Muscat,' though it is ten degrees to the northward of it. Moreau-de-Jonnès, the oracle of the contagionists, puts down the appearance of the disease in the two places in the same month, and this took place before it had visited the intermediate country. The simultaneous appearance of the disease, in places so remote from each other, it is wholly out of our power to explain on the principle of contagion, though the difficulty vanishes if we suppose the seeds of the pestilence to be conveyed by the atmosphere.

It reached the desert which separates Arabia and Syria, in the autumn of 1821, and ceased on the approach of winter, but re-appeared without any assignable cause, in the following spring, in the neighborhood of the Tigris and Euphrates, and arrived on the shores of the Mediterranean in August, 1823.

'Once established,' says the reviewer, 'on the shores of the Mediterranean, every facility to its immediate transmission into European ports appeared to be offered;' and it no doubt would have been transmitted there, if it were possible thus to have conveyed it. No quarantines were laid, no restrictions of any kind were imposed, the great 'thoroughfares of the country' were thronged with human beings, but the disease did not follow in their train, and it ceased spontaneously at Tripoli in Syria, having attacked, it is said, only thirty-one persons, out of a population of fifteen thousand.

On the other side of the Gulf, it extended through Persia, and finally reached Astrakhan, at the mouth of the Wolga, on the Caspian Sea, in the autumn of 1823. Here again the disease seemed to threaten Europe, and it would no doubt have been conveyed throughout the vast territories of Russia at that time, by passing up the Wolga, one of the great thoroughfares of the country, if it had depended on contagion for its propagation. But, as was before remarked, it subsided at the approach of winter, and finally disappeared.

During the six succeeding years, no alarm was excited by it in any portion of Europe. It appeared, however, in various parts of Persia, China, and other countries of the East, and raged at times with great violence. Towards the close of 1826, it broke out in Mongolia, and reached almost to the borders of Siberia.

In August, 1829, it appeared at Orenburg, the capital of the Russian province of that name, and continued for about three months in the city, and till February, 1830, in other parts of the province. It has been asserted, on the authority of M. de Jonnès, that the disease was carried there by the caravans, who bring across the steppes of Boukara the merchandise of China, Thibet, Caboul, and Hindostan. It might be enough to say, in answer to this, that the official reports of the Russian Government admit that there is no evidence of the fact. Professor Lichtenstædt, after a most careful investigation of the subject, acknowledges the same thing; and the editors of the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, who believe in the contagious character of the disease, say that there is no reason to suppose that the Cholera was brought from the East or elsewhere to Orenburg. This, in ordinary cases, might be thought conclusive; but, as we wish to show how much credit is to be attached to the statements of M. de Jonnès, who first asserted

that the disease was carried by the caravans, and who is the great source whence the Quarterly reviewer derives his facts in favor of contagion, we shall give the following extract from the thirty-second volume of the London Asiatic Journal.

M. Moreau de Jonnès read a paper before the French Academy of Sciences, November 22, 1830, on the progress of the Cholera. Among other things, he stated that the disease was carried to Orenburg by the caravans from the East.

'M. de Humboldt, who was present when the paper was read, remarked, that it appeared improbable that the *Cholera morbus* was carried by the caravans to Orenburg. In fact, when he left this place, the disease did not prevail there, yet nearly four months had elapsed since the arrival of the caravans. The plains of the Kirgheez, which these caravans had traversed, were uninfected by the disease. It was not impossible that the *Cholera* might have been brought from Samarkand by individual travellers; but this idea had never occurred to any person at Orenburg, where the disease was considered to have been generated and developed fortuitously, under atmospheric influence, and not to have been imported.'

In July, 1830, the disease appeared again in Astrakhan, and it is asserted by the reviewer, that it was brought by a vessel from Baku, a town situated about three hundred and fifty miles from Astrakhan down the Caspian; several of the crew having died on the voyage of the Cholera. A sufficient answer to this is, that it is not pretended in the Russian official report, as published by Dr. Lichtenstædt, that the vessel ever went up to Astrakhan; on the contrary, it appears, that she was put into quarantine sixty miles below, at a place called the Sedlitovski Lazaretto.

The reviewer says, 'once in possession of this point,' (Astrakhan), 'the disease found a ready inlet to the principal towns of the Russian empire; afforded by the navigation of the Wolga, Don, and Donec, on the banks of which they are, for the most part, situated.' He seems to have forgotten, that the disease was at Astrakhan in 1823, but did not extend at that time beyond the limits of the place, though the same 'great thoroughfares of the country' were as much open then as in 1830.

In the latter part of September it reached Moscow; and Dr. Walker, a contagionist, in an official report, addressed to the British Government, dated April, 1831, observes, 'that a strict investigation had been made into what were reckoned the

first four cases occurring in Moscow, and that it was proved that they had neither themselves been in any infected place, nor had any communication with any one coming from such place. He farther says, 'I am convinced of the contagious nature of the disease, but the proofs of its transmission from one individual to another are not quite perfect as yet.' The Cholera continued at Moscow till February, 1831, the whole number of cases being a few more than eight thousand, and the deaths about half that number.

Of its appearance at Warsaw, we have already spoken. It broke out in Dantzic and Riga in May; Dr. Dalmas has proved that it was not imported into the former place, and the same has been shown in regard to the latter by the medical board of Riga.

The first case of the disease at St. Petersburgh occurred in June. In the official reports, published by the British Board of Health, may be found a document signed by the medical and other officers of the police of St. Petersburgh, acknowledging that they were unable to show 'whence the disease originated.' There is one fact in relation to this epidemic at St. Petersburgh, that has been supposed to favor the doctrine of contagion; it is communicated in a letter from Drs. Russell and Barry to the British Government.

'A woman,' say they, 'had been sent out (of the city prison) some weeks before to be treated for a syphilitic complaint, in a public hospital. Her husband was also in confinement at the time, in a different part of the building, but remained. The woman was returned to jail on the 23d day of June, O. S., with a diarrhœa upon her. She saw and embraced her husband for a moment, as she passed in to be placed in the room of observation. In a few hours she was seized with true Cholera, and died that night. This was the very first case. The next persons attacked in the prison were the three women in the same room with the former, one of whom had rubbed the deceased. These three died all within three days after the first. The next prisoner attacked was the husband of No. 1; he lived in a separate part of the jail. In short, of twenty-seven attacked, (fifteen dead), there is but one to whom communication cannot be traced. He was confined for a capital offence, and had less liberty than the others.'

Now it should be considered, that at this time, the whole atmosphere of St. Petersburgh, if our view of the subject be

correct, was loaded with the infection of Cholera, and it required only a pre-disposing cause to give it efficiency. The depressing affections of the mind, particularly grief and terror, are known to have a powerful influence in producing a predisposition for the disease; and when we add to these the kind of diet and mode of living, which criminals of this class would be likely to have, we cannot well imagine persons more predisposed to take the disease than those who had it. Besides, the fact, that one of the sick was confined for a capital offence, and was not known to have had any communication with the infected, affords the strongest presumptive evidence that the disease was taken from the atmosphere. It is absurd to suppose, that this last prisoner could have had communication with any person, without the knowledge of the superintendent of the establishment.

We will now finish our sketch of the progress of the Cholera. It appeared at Archangel in July, at Berlin in August, at Vienna in September, and at Hamburgh in October, in spite of the most rigorous measures of quarantine that could be adopted. It seems idle to say, that Governments, constituted like those of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, could not enforce a system of complete non-intercourse between their territories and those of the infected countries; and it is admitted by nearly all the contagionists, after the most rigid scrutiny, that there is no evidence that the disease was brought to any one of these places. We should trouble our readers with the proof of this in detail, if there were any considerable diversity of opinion on the subject.

It was thought by many, that if the disease should reach Great Britain, it would then be easy to decide the question as to its contagious character; as it was supposed to be impossible to bring it there by human agency, without the fact being known. And we confess, that we were of that number. In the first place, Great Britain was an island, separated by a considerable extent of water from every place where the disease had been; and in the second place, the Government, acting on the principle that it was contagious, had adopted a very strict system of quarantine. When, therefore, it broke out at Sunderland, as it did on the 26th of October, it was but fair to expect that the whole thing would be explained; that, if it were imported, we should be furnished with the name of the vessel that brought the unlucky patient, the place where he contracted the disease,

and what was the exposure of the first person who had it in England. We thought that every minute particular would be stated officially, that had any bearing on the breaking out of the disease; and this would no doubt have been done, as all the members of the British Board of Health are believers in contagion, if any thing had occurred which favored that doctrine. But nothing of this kind has taken place. We had, to be sure, in the newspapers a story of a vessel from Hamburgh, passing up the river by Sunderland and returning, without communicating with the shore, and she, it was said, no doubt introduced it; and then we were told, that it was brought there by a chest of clothes of a seaman, who had died of it abroad. But all these are now given up, and we are totally in the dark, if we admit the doctrine of contagion, as to the way in which the Cholera entered England.

As some may perhaps doubt the statement we have just made, we will give a short extract from a letter from Dr. J. Brown, dated Sunderland, November 10th, 1831, and which may be found in the Medico-Chirurgical Review for January, 1832.

'Need I examine,' says he, 'the question of its importation, and refute the story circulated through the newspapers, of certain ships which lay above our bridge, and communicated the disease to the town? Those ships came from places where Cholera did not exist at the time of their departure,—most of them from Holland, where it has not yet appeared; their crews were and had been in perfect health; and the disease *first* manifested itself in a part of the town *two miles distant from where they were lying.* If there have been other modes in which disease may have been communicated from the continent, I know not of them.'

'The importation doctrine is here,—where we must be supposed to be the most competent judges of a matter, not of opinion, but of fact,—so generally abandoned, that I shall bestow no more pains in its refutation.'

There are some, to be sure, who say, that as Sunderland is one of the nearest towns in Britain to Hamburgh, it might have been introduced by some person from that place by violating the quarantine; it will be time to consider this, when it is shown that such a violation has taken place.

The manner of its entering London, without passing through the intermediate country, though there was great and daily inter-

course between Sunderland and all parts of the kingdom, is wholly inexplicable on the principle of contagion. And is not the fact of the appearance of the Cholera in Paris still stronger against this doctrine? Here is a city, situated nearly one hundred and fifty miles from the sea-coast, and about two hundred and fifty from any place where the disease had existed, suddenly becoming affected with it. It is not pretended that the first victims of it had in any way been exposed, nor that any persons laboring under the disease had arrived there. Where then could they have become infected?

It is well known that a quarantine has been established throughout France, and any one at all acquainted with the keen vigilance of the Paris police-officers will hardly believe it possible they could have been deceived. To us the true explanation appears to be, that in the course which this wonderful epidemic is appointed to run, it had arrived at Paris, and suddenly seized on those, the state of whose systems rendered them peculiarly pre-disposed to it. This number at the present moment is greater than usual, from the embarrassment and interruption of the ordinary business of the city, and the consequent want of employment, with its attendant evils, of many of the laboring class. This will account for the fact that so many have already been destroyed by it there, and that its ravages have been chiefly among the lower orders of the people.

Having considered the principal reasons that have been urged in favor of the contagious character of Cholera, and attempted to show that the course of the disease, from its commencement to the present time, does not warrant the belief that it has been propagated by contagion, we shall present some positive evidence that it is completely a non-contagious disease.

1. The sudden disappearance of the disease in places which it has attacked, when a very small part of the population has been affected, and at a moment when great numbers are sick, and when free intercourse has been allowed with them, are facts hardly compatible with the doctrine of contagion. Two examples will be enough to illustrate this. In Moscow, with a population of between 200 and 300,000, only 8,000 were attacked, and in St. Petersburgh, containing more than 300,000 inhabitants, something less than 8,000 had the disease, and it suddenly ceased at a time when a large number were sick.

2. In almost all places from which we have a right to expect authentic accounts in Europe, we find that the Cholera

has been preceded by a great tendency to derangement of the stomach and bowels among the population generally, showing that there is, what Sydenham called an epidemic constitution of the air. This was noticed in many places in Russia, Germany and Great Britain. We refer for information on this subject to the very excellent letter of Dr. Brown, of Sunderland, from which we have already quoted.

3. During the prevalence of the Cholera in a place, the brute animals have frequently been sick, and many of them have died. This is spoken of by Jameson, in the Bengal Report, as having been the case in the East Indies, and it has also been noticed in Russia, Germany and Great Britain.

4. The exemption from the disease of places in the neighborhood of those affected by it, and between which constant and unrestrained intercourse has been kept up, is another consideration of some importance in favor of non-contagion. The following extract of a letter from the British Consul at Cronstadt, furnishes a strong example of this kind.

'The small village of Tolbuhin, containing a population of about one hundred and fifty inhabitants, and in daily communication with this place, as it supplies the town with milk and vegetables, has escaped the visitation entirely, and not one being to this day has fallen a sacrifice to the complaint, or had an attack; therefore, to them it has been neither epidemical nor infectious, though their manner of life is not in any way different from that of the inhabitants of this place.'

5. In numerous instances, persons have gone out of infected places and become sick with the disease at a distance, without communicating it to any one else. In the twelfth volume of the London Medico-Chirurgical Transactions, may be found a letter from Mr. Cormick, an English surgeon, dated Tabriz, in Persia, Oct. 1822, mentioning that the Prince of Persia left the city as the disease began to abate, yet from four to six of those who went with him were attacked daily for several days with Cholera, 'although not a single person of the villages through which they passed, or where they slept, took the disease.'

In the report of Dr. Albers to the Prussian Government, from which we have before quoted, it is stated that 'during the epidemic, it is certain that about forty thousand inhabitants quitted Moscow, of whom a large number never performed quarantine. Notwithstanding this fact, *no case is on record of the Cholera having been transferred from Moscow to other places*, and

it is equally certain that in *no situation* appointed for quarantine has *any case* of Cholera occurred.

6. Its appearance on board ships at anchor, when there is no Cholera on the neighboring shores, is strong presumptive evidence against contagion. Mr. Nathaniel Grant, late surgeon in the East India Company's service, relates a case of this kind in the London Medical and Physical Journal, for October, 1831. It occurred on board the Sir David Grant, lying at anchor off Sauger Island, Bengal, in July, 1822, at a time when 'there was no Cholera at Calcutta, nor any where in our neighborhood.' It proved fatal to several of the crew.

7. The great degree of immunity from the disease enjoyed by the attendants on the sick, both in Asia and Europe, can hardly be explained on the doctrine of contagion. Mr. Jameson, in the Bengal Report, states, that 'from a medical list consisting of between two hundred and fifty and three hundred individuals, most of whom saw the disease largely, only three persons were attacked, and one death only occurred.'

In the Madras Report, it is stated, that out of one hundred and one attendants at the Hospital, of the Royals, one only was attacked with the disease.

At Bombay, all the attendants of the Hospital escaped, though they were with the sick, by day and night.*

While the disease prevailed at Orenburg, two hundred and ninety-nine patients were admitted with it into the military hospital, and not one of the twenty-seven attendants took the disease. Some of the hospital servants were obliged to perform bloodlettings, apply leeches, poultices, and frictions, and administer baths, so that they were compelled to be constantly breathing the exhalations from the bodies and clothes of the sick, as well as to touch and handle them; and yet not one of them had the Cholera. Even the washerwomen of the Hospital escaped. The editors of the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, who are believers in contagion, remark with great candor upon this statement, that 'the immunity enjoyed by the officers and servants of the military hospital of Orenburg, is surely sufficient to prove, that *at this period of the epidemic*, the disease could not propagate itself from the sick to the healthy.'

The same immunity has been witnessed at other places, particularly at Moscow, as may be seen in Dr. Albers's Report. But it is needless to multiply instances of this kind.

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* Kennedy, page 57.

What will be the future course of this pestilence, and whether it will probably reach our country, it is impossible to conjecture. Something may be hoped, from the wide-spread ocean over which it must pass, and which may possess the power to disarm it of its virulence; but we should rely with greater confidence on the superior comfort enjoyed by the great mass of our citizens, when compared with those of the other quarters of the globe, the abundance of wholesome food within their reach, the superior convenience and cleanliness of the dwellings of the poor, and generally the absence of what have elsewhere been found the pre-disposing causes. Some consolation, too, may be derived from the fact, that though the number of deaths in proportion to the number attacked has been greater in Europe than in the East, the number attacked in proportion to the whole population has been comparatively small. This is of course owing to the fact, that there is a less number of persons pre-disposed to it there, than in the countries which it visited in Asia, and the number here would no doubt be still less.

We have taken some pains to satisfy our readers of the non-contagious character of Cholera, because we think it a question of great importance, and one which it is very desirable to have correctly settled. We do not allude to quarantines and all the vexatious, expensive and harassing embarrassments, that grow out of them; we waive all considerations of a pecuniary nature, though they are by no means trifling. Restrictions on commerce, infinitely more severe than any that have ever been imposed, would be quietly submitted to, if the disease could be introduced by sea. But we refer to the distress that would be produced, should the Cholera appear among us, if a belief in its contagious character were general.

The sick would be abandoned by all in their hour of distress. So strong is the law of self-preservation in the human breast, that but few, if any, would encounter the danger of administering to the wants of the dying. We fervently hope that the experiment is not to be tried upon us, and that Heaven will avert this calamity from our shores. But should it arrive, we feel confident, that, however the mass of the community may be influenced in their treatment of the sick by the views they have taken of its contagion, the practitioners of the healing art will be true to the sacred cause of science and humanity, to which they have devoted their lives, and that whatever difference there may be in their opinions on some points connected with

the disease, they will all agree in laboring to mitigate its violence. If not operated on by higher motives, they should all bear in mind the immunity of those, who have in other places faithfully watched over the dying, and recollect that the moral courage, which prompts to this, is one of the greatest safeguards against the disease. They should devote themselves without fear to aid and comfort them in the hour of peril; confident, that if their turn come next, it can never come at a better period than when they are engaged with zeal and fidelity in the discharge of their duty.

Art. VII.—*American Colonization Society.*

1. *Fifteenth Report of the American Colonization Society.* Washington. 1832.
2. *Letters on the Colonization Society; with a View of its Probable Results; addressed to the* Hon. C. F. Mercer. By M. Carey. 1832.

The two pamphlets, of which the titles are given above, will be found to contain a mass of valuable information respecting subjects of great interest to the whole American people, and of immediate importance to more classes than one. Mr. Carey has confined himself almost exclusively to facts. One letter he devotes to the origin of the Society; a second to the state of our colored population; others to the Slave-Trade, the manumission of slaves in this country, the declarations of Legislatures in favor of the Society, and the situation, character, and prospects of the Colony they have founded on the African Coast. It is not our intention to enter at present into the discussion of more than one or two of these subjects at much length; nor need we undertake any thing like a review of either the Report or the Letters. We have named them rather for the purpose of acknowledging our obligations, and of commending them to the attention of all, who are not yet familiar with their contents.

It has been stated, and is perhaps generally understood, that the operations which gave existence to the American Colonization Society are to be mainly attributed to the Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey. Such, however, does not appear to

be the precise truth. That excellent man unquestionably deserved, as he received, great praise for the enlightened energy with which he engaged in this cause. But it was a cause before he engaged in it. Others participated with him in the prosecution of the scheme, up to the formation of the Society in 1817; but the scheme itself had been agitated more than thirty years previous to that date.

The earliest evidence we have of Mr. Finley's views upon the subject of colonization, is contained in a letter which he addressed to a citizen of New York, about the commencement of the year 1815.

'The longer I live,' says the writer, 'to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who devise, and with patience labor to execute, plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject, the state of the *free blacks* has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness too, as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their color, is against them; nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly ameliorated, while they shall continue among us. *Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a Colony on some part of the Coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and of protection and support till they were established?*'

These, it must be admitted, are very nearly the principles of the Colonization Society. With Mr. Finley, it is not improbable that they might have been original; and he speaks of 'devising' a plan, as if they were so. But the Legislature of the State of Virginia had preceded him at an interval of about fifteen years. That body, not long before the commencement of the present century, had become so much interested in the project of colonization, as to instruct Mr. Monroe, then Governor of the State, to enter into a correspondence with President Jefferson upon the means of procuring an asylum for the free blacks, beyond the limits of the United States.* Mr. Jefferson from this time took an active part in the discussion. He began with proposing the British establishment at Sierra Leone, (referred to in the letter of Mr. Finley,) to which a private

* A project was discussed by this Legislature as early as 1777, of which the general object was the same, but it had no important results.

company had already transported a considerable number of negroes.

As we shall not unfrequently have occasion to mention this Colony in the course of the following pages, it may be well to give a brief account of its origin and progress. In consequence of the memorable decision of the English Judiciary in the case of Somerset, that slavery could not exist upon the soil of England, several hundred blacks, unaccustomed to the profitable employments of a great city, were thrown upon their own resources in the streets of London. The celebrated Granville Sharp having taken a peculiarly prominent part in the whole affair of the slave question, they flocked to him as their patron; and he, after much reflection, determined to colonize them in Africa. The Government, anxious to remove a class of people which it regarded at best as worthless, finally assumed the whole expense of the expedition. Under such auspices, four hundred negroes and sixty Europeans, supplied with provisions for six or eight months, sailed on the 8th of April, 1787. The result was unfortunate and even discouraging. The crowded condition of the transports, the unfavorable season at which they arrived on the coast, and the intemperance and imprudence of the emigrants, brought on a mortality which reduced their numbers nearly one half during the first year. Others deserted soon after landing, until forty individuals only remained. In 1788, Mr. Sharp sent out thirty-nine more; and then a number of the deserters returned, and the settlement gradually gained strength. But, during the next year, a controversy with a neighboring native chief ended in wholly dispersing the Colony; and some time elapsed before the remnants could be again collected. A Charter of Incorporation was obtained in 1791. Not long afterwards, about twelve hundred new emigrants were introduced from Nova Scotia, being originally refugees from *this* country, who had placed themselves under British protection. Still, affairs were very badly managed. One tenth of the Nova-Scotians, and half of the Europeans died during one season, as much from want of provisions as any other cause. Two years afterwards, a store-ship belonging to the Company, which had been made the receptacle for African produce, was lost by fire, with a cargo valued at fifteen thousand pounds. Then, insurrections arose among the blacks. Worst of all, in 1794, a large French squadron, wholly without provocation,

attacked the settlement, and although the colors were immediately struck, proceeded to an indiscriminate pillage. The books of the Company were scattered and defaced; the printing-presses and scientific apparatus of every description broken in pieces; the Accountant's office demolished; and the buildings generally consigned to the flames. The pecuniary loss was more than fifty thousand pounds. But the Directors, instead of being disheartened by these disasters, nerved themselves to more resolute efforts than before. They were liberally supported by the Government, and the united labors of both were so effectual, that in the year 1798, Freetown, the principal village in the Colony, was found to contain three hundred houses, sufficiently fortified, and accommodating twelve hundred inhabitants.

Two years afterwards, a large number of the worst part of the settlers, chiefly the Nova-Scotians, rebelled against the Colonial Government. The Governor called in the assistance of the neighboring African tribes, and matters were on the eve of a battle, when a transport arrived in the harbor, bringing five hundred and fifty Maroons* from Jamaica. Lots of land were given to these men; they proved regular and industrious; and the insurgents laid down their arms. Wars next ensued with the natives, which were not finally concluded until 1807. On the first of January, 1808, all the rights and possessions of the company were surrendered to the British crown, and in this situation they have ever since remained. Of the results effected by the establishment in reference to the slave-trade on the coast, and the civilization of the interior tribes, as also of its political and commercial value to the English Government and people, we may perhaps have occasion to speak hereafter. The population in 1823, was eighteen thousand two thirds of this number being liberated Africans. In 1828, the latter class had increased to more than fifteen thousand, exclusive of nearly one third as many more who were resident at the timber factories and other places. Two thousand four hundred and fifty-eight liberated captives were added to the colony, during the year 1827 alone.

* A name given to a large number of negroes, originally slaves in Jamaica, who availed themselves of a revolution in that island, to take refuge among the mountains of the interior, and have never since been subdued. See *History of Jamaica*, Lond. 1774. The emigrants mentioned above are now doing well, and have increased in number.

Such was and is the character of the establishment, to which the attention of President Jefferson was first directed by the application of the Executive of Virginia. His suggestion being approved by the Assembly of 1801, he instructed Mr. King, then our Minister in London, to attempt a negotiation with the Company, for the purpose of inducing them to open their settlement to emigration from the United States. But the Company were at this time in the midst of their troubles; and would not hear of receiving a reinforcement of settlers of any description, least of all from the same quarter with the Nova-Scotian refugees. An effort was then made to obtain, from the Government of Portugal, a location within their South American territory; which also proved abortive. The earnestness with which the Legislature prosecuted their design, may be inferred from the fact, that the Executive was requested to adopt measures of the same character with those just mentioned, at three several times anterior to 1806. But all these, it should be observed, were private proceedings; and the injunction of secrecy has not been removed, so far as we know, to this day, excepting as to the fact that such proceedings took place. The first *public* expression of sentiment upon the subject of colonization was also made by the same body. This was in December, 1816. The resolution then adopted is especially deserving of notice, as illustrating the plan of the Society soon afterwards organized by the advocates of similar principles.

'Whereas,' says the Preamble, 'the General Assembly of Virginia have repeatedly sought *to obtain an asylum beyond the limits of the United States for such persons of color as had been or might be emancipated under the laws of this Commonwealth*, but have hitherto found all their efforts for the accomplishment of this desirable purpose frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success; they now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred with the Government of the United States in abolishing the African slave-trade (a traffic which this Commonwealth, both before and since the Revolution, zealously sought to terminate), to renew this effort, and do therefore *Resolve;*

'That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory upon the coast of Africa, or upon the shore of the North Pacific, or at some other place not within any of the United States or under the territorial Government of the United States, to serve as

an asylum for such persons of color as are now free and may desire the same, and for those also who may hereafter be emancipated within this Commonwealth; and that the Senators and Representatives of this State, in the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States, in the attainment of that one object; *provided*, that no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory upon this Commonwealth, until ratified by the Legislature.'

This declaration of the sentiments of the Virginia Legislature (which passed with but nine dissenting voices in the House of Delegates, and but one in the Senate), in itself furnishes sufficient corroboration of the remark we have made in regard to Mr. Finley. The interest which Mr. Jefferson had long taken in the project, appears from sources still more satisfactory than have yet been alluded to. In a letter addressed to Mr. Lynd, under date of January 21, 1811, he uses the following language.

'Sir,—You have asked my opinion on *the proposition of Ann Mifflin*, to take measures for procuring on the coast of Africa an establishment at which the people of color of these States might from time to time be colonized, under the auspices of different Governments. *Having long ago made up my mind on this subject*, I have no hesitation in saying, that I have ever thought that the most desirable measure which could be adopted, for gradually drawing off this part of our population,—most advantageous for themselves as well as us.'

What Mr. Jefferson intended to convey by the phrase *auspices of different Governments*,—which is the only point of even ostensible difference between the principles here declared, and those upon which the Colonization Society was originally founded and has uniformly acted,—may be best understood from a succeeding paragraph of the same communication. The affair of the French squadron, already mentioned in our sketch of the Sierra Leone settlement, together with the revolutionary state of France itself at the period when this letter was written, sufficiently account for the 'particular' apprehension here expressed in reference to that Government.

'You inquired farther, whether I would use my endeavors to procure such an establishment, secure against the violence of other powers, and particularly against the French. Certainly, I

shall be willing to do any thing I can, to give it effect and safety. But I am but a private individual, and could only use endeavors with individuals; whereas the national Government can address itself at once to those of Europe, to obtain the desired security, and will unquestionably be ready to exert its influence with those nations, to effect an object so benevolent in itself, and so important to a great portion of its constituents. *Indeed nothing is more to be wished, than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.*'

This, too, was a private communication, made known to the public only within a few years. But, to go back a step farther in our series of authorities, an able article may be found in the American Museum, dated Richmond, March 6th, 1790, and said to have been written by Ferdinando Fairfax.* The view there taken of the whole subject-matter connected with emancipation and colonization, is in the highest degree luminous and cogent. The reasoning accords as nearly as possible with that of Jefferson, Finley, and the most enlightened modern advocates of the scheme in question. The conclusion is in the following terms.

'It is therefore proposed, *that a colony should be settled, under the auspices and protection of Congress, by the negroes now within the United States, and be composed of those who are already, as well as those who at any time hereafter may become, liberated by the voluntary consent of their owners;* since there are many who would willingly emancipate,' &c.

He afterwards proposes, 'that this colony should be *in Africa*, their native climate, as being most suitable for the purposes intended;' and many other suggestions are offered, as being pertinent, though subordinate, to the main project.

But the credit of originality does not belong to Mr. Fairfax himself, although his plan was more thoroughly matured than any other we have met with previously to Mr. Finley's. In the Memoirs of Granville Sharp (published several years since in England, and written by Mr. Prince Hoare, one of the honorary governors of the African Institution), is preserved a letter addressed to that gentleman in January, 1789, by the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, an eminent minister of Newport, Rhode Island. The object was to ascertain the situation of the colony

* See African Repository, Vol. II. p. 198.

at Sierra Leone, and especially 'whether the blacks of New England, who have been educated and habituated to industry and labor, either on lands or as mechanics, and are thereby prepared to bring forward such a settlement better than any others that can be found,' *might have any part of the colonial lands to settle on*, and upon what terms. He had come to this point, he writes, in consequence of long observation of the state of the free blacks in this country. Many of them were already desirous, he adds, 'of removing to Africa, to settle on lands which they think may be obtained of some of the nations there, from whom they were taken, and whose language they retain; and there maintain Christianity, and spread the knowledge of it among the Africans; at the same time cultivating their land, and introducing into that hitherto uncivilized country the arts of husbandry, building mills and houses, and other mechanic arts, and raising tobacco, coffee, cotton, indigo, &c. for exportation as well as their own use.' We cite thus much of this document, as singularly correspondent in its reasoning and anticipation to what has been subsequently said and done. One more inventor only remains to be brought forward, on the information of Brissot and other writers of the same period.

'In the year 1787,' says Brissot, 'Dr. Thornton* proposed the subject of *the colonization of the people of color on the coast of Africa* to the people of Boston, and of Providence (Rhode Island).'

He adds, that many of that class consented to accompany the Doctor in an expedition pursuant to this plan; but that nothing was done, because the community generally preferred colonization in this country, and refused to furnish funds for that of any other description. Elsewhere we are informed by the same writer,—and he seems to have obtained his information from good authority,—that the project was '*first imagined* by that great apostle of philanthropy, Dr. Fothergill, well known as one of the intimate joint-laborers with Mr. Sharp;' 'a project *executed*,' he concludes, 'by the Society at London, or rather by the beneficent Granville Sharp,—*a project for*

* Subsequently a citizen of Washington, D. C., and an ardently devoted and active friend of the Colonization Society. He was educated on the island of Antigua, one of the West Indian possessions of the French, where his parents owned a plantation.

restoring the negroes to their country, to establish them there, and encourage them in the cultivation of coffee, sugar, cotton, &c., and to open a commerce with Europe.'

Such, so far as we have the means of tracing it, is the history of the idea of African colonization. Of the immediate origin of the American Colonization Society, the character and history of which now claim our attention, the following is the most complete account which has come to our notice. Early in 1816, Mr. Finley, who resided at Basking Ridge, in New Jersey, began to disclose sentiments relating to the interests of the free blacks, similar to those which have already been remarked upon as forming a part of his letter. About the same time, an accidental disclosure was first made of the general fact, that measures, such as we have mentioned above, had been taken by the Legislature of Virginia at various periods, and that certain distinguished men had been earnestly engaged in the same cause. This circumstance gave a new impulse to the energies of all who had interested themselves in the subject. A concurrent movement towards the adoption of some particular plan of operations was distinctly concerted in March, at Georgetown, D. C. between a resident of that place, and several citizens of the two neighboring States. This was without the knowledge or participation of any individual whatever, living north of Maryland. But in the course of the ensuing summer and autumn, the discussion became more general, and excited considerable interest in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Princeton, and other principal places in that section of the country. Still Mr. Finley seems rather to have led public opinion, for while others were only talking and thinking, he was devoting himself wholly to the cause. After having reflected deliberately on the proper place, time, and manner of commencing the long contemplated movement,—and the propriety of doing *something* had scarcely been disputed at all,—he resolved to test the popularity, and in some degree the practicability of his own plan, by introducing the subject to public notice at Washington. He arrived at that city about the first of December, 1816, and began to make arrangements for a meeting of the citizens. Many ridiculed, and some opposed him; but meekly contenting himself with the observation, 'I know this scheme is from God,' he persevered and prevailed The Society was organized on the first of January, 1817, at a meeting of which Mr. Clay was chairman Judge

Washington was elected President, and continued to occupy that station until his death, when he was succeeded by Charles Carroll of Carrolton, the present incumbent. At this time there are twenty-four Vice Presidents, of whom, (excluding General Lafayette,) we have taken the pains to ascertain that three belong to New England, as many to Maryland, one to New York and Georgia each, two to Kentucky and New Jersey each, four to Virginia, and the residue to various other sections.

The second article of the original constitution is expressed thus.

'The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in this country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.'

As the Society has uniformly acted in pursuance of these clearly declared principles, to the exclusion of all others, it is unnecessary to give additional evidence of the perfectly simple object which they have in view, or of the equally plain means by which they propose to accomplish it, so far as such means may enable them.

As regards the place chosen for the settlement of a Colony, different opinions have been advanced among the advocates of colonization, as well as elsewhere, and both before and since the formation of the Society. Those who have thought most upon the subject, however, seem to have decided almost universally in favor of the African Coast. The English philanthropists and the English Government have never discussed any other proposal, having the same object in view. Such were Dr. Fothergill's and Dr. Thornton's plans, the scheme of Mr. Fairfax, the earliest proposition of Mr. Jefferson, and the declared wish of the Legislature and Executive of Virginia. It must be obvious indeed to the most careless reflection, that there are positive and strong objections to most other proposed locations, which do not apply to this; and, at the same time, as urgent considerations in favor of this, which do not apply to them.

Nothing needs be said to enforce the reasonableness of the

provisions made in the Virginia Resolutions, that the territory which might be procured should, at all events, be without the limits of the United States and the territorial Governments. A domestic Colony,—unless a very remote one, and then it would be substantially foreign,—would be impracticable, on account of the number and disposition of those who must be parties to such an arrangement. If it were not so, it would still be of no benefit either to the whites or the blacks. So far as the welfare of the latter class is to be promoted, which the Society holds up as its grand aim, it would be but a change of place without a change of circumstances; as to the former, it would be but shifting the burden from one shoulder to the other.

The only project of a settlement within our own territory, which has appeared sufficiently feasible to be discussed, was laid before the public under the auspices of Mr. Tucker, a Senator from Virginia, in 1825. In March of that year, he offered a Resolution to the National Senate, the object of which was to ascertain, through the War Department, the probable expense of extinguishing the Indian title to a portion of the country lying *west of the Rocky Mountains*, 'that may be suitable for colonizing the free people of color, the best known routes across the said mountains, and the probable cost of a road and military posts, necessary to a safe communication with such colony.' The little reflection which has been given to this scheme having caused it to be altogether abandoned, it is unnecessary to make comment upon it. Objections equally conclusive, though of a different character, apply to every proposal which has been or can be made, of founding a settlement on territory belonging to foreign powers, but adjacent to our own. Absolute dependence upon such powers, in war and in peace, and the necessity of being involved in their relations to other powers, would be among the first and worst results, affecting the interest of the colony itself.

The plan of colonization in Canada is the only one of this class, which has assumed character enough to make it a subject of argument. The attention of some of the free blacks was first turned towards this quarter, in consequence of measures adopted a few years since by the State of Ohio, for the exclusion of that class from its territory. The laws which were passed for this purpose took effect in June, 1829; and the colony established in consequence, commenced its operations early in the ensuing

season. It consisted originally of about two hundred persons, who purchased land from the Canada company, at Wilberforce, U. C. The number of settlers is now between one and two hundred, most of whom emigrated during the first year. Some hundred acres of land have been partially cleared, and several log houses erected in the settlement. Now, as to what the actual condition of this establishment may be at present, our only means of information have already been before the public. An agent of the emigrants visited the United States some months since, for the purpose of soliciting aid in its behalf, on the strength of a certificate from a respectable authority, that the colony was, at that date,—about a year since,—'from circumstances beyond its control, in a state of great suffering.' It also appears, more recently, that as many as two thousand colored emigrants from the States have, within about two years, transiently lodged at the Wilberforce settlement, and subsequently left it for other parts of Canada. But, without reference to the history of the colony, it is sufficient to observe, that its means of doing good, like its prospect of enjoying comfort, situated as it is, are necessarily both limited and precarious. The bearing it might have in time of war, in case of becoming prosperous and populous, is a consideration which concerns this country, more, perhaps, than itself. The light in which it is at least *liable* to be regarded at all times by the government which now suffers it to exist, may be inferred from the tenor of certain resolutions adopted by the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, about two years since. The following is the first of the series.

'*Resolved*, That this House has great cause of alarm, for the peace and security of the inhabitants of the western parts of this Province, by reason of the rumored intention, *on the part of the Canada Company*, of introducing large bodies of negro settlers into this province.'

The second resolution is a more special stricture upon the management of the Company. The third recognizes the importance to the Province of encouraging all proper emigration. The fifth expresses a fear of the evils which must arise from the project under discussion. The fourth is more deserving of notice than either of the others.

'*Resolved*, That although *this House has long observed, without uneasiness, that fugitive slaves of color do occasionally escape into this Province; and, recognizing the law of nature which*

says, that "the fugitive shall not be delivered up to his pursuers," this House is still unwilling to shut the door against the outcast; yet the introduction of a mass of black population, likely to continue without limitation, is a matter so dangerous to the peace and comfort of the inhabitants, that it now becomes necessary to prevent or check, by some prudent restrictions, this threatening evil.'

We shall make no comment upon the policy here disclosed, or upon any doctrines of international courtesy or law which these declarations rather suggest than refer to. The policy itself is abundantly plain, being precisely similar to that adopted about a century ago by the Spanish sub-government of Florida, in reference to the other extremity of the Union. Waiving this point, it is evident, that the advocates of the Canadian scheme can hardly look for any considerable patronage either on the American or foreign side of the line. The slave-holders, especially, if they choose to emancipate their negroes, will have more reasons than one, independently of the public interest, for preferring a remote rendezvous to a near one. The British government will provide for their own 'peace and security,' on the other hand, by maintaining a proper *surveillance* over the settlement, and at all events by restraining its increase and influence within such limits as to render it, were it ever so well situated in other respects, a matter of consequence only to the individual emigrants, and not to the American community, either of whites or blacks. We might remark upon the comparative adaptation of the Canadian and the African climate, to the African constitution; and the comparison might be illustrated by the history of the only colony of colored people whom we recollect to have heard of in a northern latitude, viz. the refugees removed from our Southern States to Nova-Scotia, near the close of the Revolution, at their own pressing solicitation, and after much more time than they coveted for experiment and reflection. But, in fine, granting to the Canadian project all the success it can hope for,—and the parent government, it is well known, is recently in no such want of good settlers as to make it more of an object to them than it has been heretofore, to encourage 'the introduction of a mass of black population;*—at the best, there is not the slightest occasion for jealousy

* Last season, the number of emigrants by way of the St. Lawrence alone, was estimated at 55,000; it must be vastly greater during this.

between the friends of that project and those of the African one. Our own opinion certainly is, that the former promises to be of more detriment than benefit to every party concerned. Others may have the same opinion of the latter. But all will probably agree, that there is no probability of too much good being done by either or both.

To the subject of Haytian colonization, we might content ourselves with applying the same observation. The location and political character of that country make it a no less objectionable asylum for our black population, as regards the general American interest, than that of the settlement last named. Its extent is much more limited, and the emigrants who resort thither, are, and must be, absolutely dependent upon the will of a foreign government, in law and in fact; whereas, an important principle in the design of the Colonization Society, is, to give its emigrants the benefit and comfort of a government of their own management and choice. As to the actual situation of the emigrants to Hayti, this, if it can be ascertained, must certainly be more conclusive than any reasoning upon the subject. Hitherto, our accounts have agreed in scarcely any thing, but in being alike superficial, and for the most part contradictory. Some *facts*, however, are of a less ambiguous character. One is, that Haytian emigration has nearly, if not altogether ceased. Another is, that a considerable number of those who have emigrated, have returned to this country. The most authentic *rumors* which have reached us represent, first, that a great many of the emigrants would gladly return if they could; and secondly, that such as are apparently contented to remain, have by no means meliorated their condition by removing. It is but a few months, since a minute and manifestly candid account of the 'Court of Hayti' was circulated in the newspapers, as coming from the pen of an intelligent naval officer of the United States. His description of the Haytians is the most favorable we have met with. 'It is a matter of surprise,' says the writer, after detailing many facts, which certainly support his conclusion, 'that a people who, little more than a quarter of a century since, were in the most ignorant and degraded state, should so easily have assumed the manners and polish of the most enlightened nations.' His next paragraph we heartily commend to the notice of the friends of Haytian Colonization, only adding, without comment, the bare fact, that the emigrants speak a different language from the natives.

'There can be no people more dissimilar, than the natives of this Island, and the colored emigrants from the United States; and I am inclined to think it will be long before they will coalesce, or that the latter will become reconciled to their situation here. They are too indolent to work, and finding themselves looked on as inferiors, become dissatisfied, and prefer living as they were wont to do, on contingencies and occasional depredations on their neighbors. I have been told that many of them have returned to the United States, and others that I have conversed with, are desirous of doing so.'

Such are some of the objections to the different places of settlement fixed upon or proposed by the patrons of as many different schemes. Of the location chosen by the Colonization Society, we only observe, for the present, that it labors under none of the disadvantages which much reduce if they do not outweigh the value of the others. Liberia is separated from us by the breadth of the Atlantic ocean,—a circumstance involving many essential considerations which require no remark. The settlements being upon the coast, and upon navigable rivers near the coast, the facilities for the emigration and location of settlers are of course greater than they can be in cases where the whole distance is to be travelled by land, or where a long journey is to be performed at the end of a long voyage. No foreign power lays claim to the territory. None ever did, excepting the native kings; and with them peaceable negotiations have procured the cession of a tract extending in one direction nearly three hundred miles. The opportunities of increasing this domain are unlimited. It may be made the seat of an independent empire; and the jurisdiction now retained by the Society, is ready to be surrendered to the colonists themselves, as the government already *is* in a great measure, whenever the efficient assistance now rendered them *by* the Society, shall be no longer desirable. The population will be homogeneous. Distinctions of rank will arise only from distinctions of worth. The climate is the native climate of the African, and the soil is among the richest upon the face of the earth.

It has been suggested, that the objects which the Society propose to accomplish, might have been better undertaken by the General Government, or by the States. Such, however, were and are the difficulties in the way of this policy, that whether founded in truth and reason or not, to await their removal, would be losing much time at the best. This time,

including the fifteen years last past, has been and will be occupied by the Society, not merely in doing something where nothing would otherwise be done, but in doing precisely what was necessary, to convince the parties referred to of the propriety of *their* action, and to enable them to act to advantage. The Society, operating only as such,—though certainly with an energy which would have done credit to a much more considerable power,—have shown, as well as any institution or corporation in their stead could have shown, that the system, which twenty years ago existed only in speculation, is both practicable and advantageous,—practicable in exact proportion to the means supplied; and advantageous alike to the country which gives and receives, to the blacks and the whites, to the bond and the free. Localities have been provided; settlements have been formed; relations of friendship and commerce are established with the African tribes. The facilities of transportation have been multiplied; and the colonizing process, in all its minutiae, matured, —in the only possible way,—by experience. And while these things have been effected abroad, the Society has been equally active and useful at home. Their entire scheme, with its principles, its history, its application to every class, and its bearing upon every interest, have been freely and thoroughly discussed. In a word, matters have been brought to precisely such an aspect as was proper to induce, if not to such a position as was necessary to justify, the co-operation of more powerful agents. The system itself is susceptible of indefinite enlargement; and the Society stands ready, as it always has, either to continue or cease to act, and to assume a co-ordinate or subordinate station, having reference only to the general welfare as determined by the general will.

We ought not to dismiss this part of our subject without observing, that many events have taken place since the formation of the Society, which strikingly corroborate these views of its usefulness, by indicating the views elsewhere entertained. At the date last mentioned, Virginia was the only State which had declared itself in favor even of the theory. Two years afterwards, a resolution unanimously passed the Legislature of Maryland, suggesting the expediency, on the part of the national Government, of procuring 'a tract of country, on the Western Coast of Africa, for the Colonization of the Free People of Color of the United States.' Tennessee was the next to follow this example, by a resolution instructing her senators and repre-

sentatives in Congress, to give to the General Government any aid in their power in effecting 'a plan, which may have for its object the colonizing, in some distant country,' of the same class. In 1824, Ohio and Connecticut declared their approbation of the Society's plan. In 1827, it was *resolved* by the General Assembly of Kentucky, 'That they view with deep and friendly interest the exertions of the American Colonization Society, in establishing an asylum on the Coast of Africa, for the Free People of Color of the United States, &c.' And the same State has more recently expressed itself in favor of an appropriation of money by Congress. The Society has also been recommended by eight other States, viz.; New York, New Hampshire, Vermont, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Georgia and Indiana, as also by the Senates of Louisiana and Massachusetts. Nearly all the ecclesiastical bodies in the Union may be numbered among its advocates. Its eminent individual patrons, in every section of the country, are far too numerous to be particularly mentioned. Not the least ardent of its foreign friends are those champions of humanity, the venerable Wilberforce and Clarkson; names to be remembered with the blessing of millions, ages after their own marble monuments shall be but dust.

We do not spread out this list of authorities, highly respectable as they are, for any purpose of ostentation, or because we consider them a conclusive argument for the policy in question. We do regard them, however, as singular illustrations of the great effects which may always be expected from great efforts. The Society has moved upon the principle, that it was only necessary, for ensuring the most complete success, first, to acquaint the public thoroughly with the merits of their theory, and secondly, to prove the feasibility of it in practice. Both these things we think they have done, and the result upon public opinion, as above stated, speaks for itself.

But a still more certain test may be found in the contributions received. They were

In 1820, 1821 and 1822, - - -	$5,625 66
1823, - - - - -	4,798 02
1824, - - - - -	4,379 89
1825, - - - - -	10,125 85
1826, - - - - -	14,779 24
1827, - - - - -	13,294 94

1828,	-	-	-	-	-	13,458 17
1829,	-	-	-	-	-	19,795 61
1830,	-	-	-	-	-	26,583 51
1831,	-	-	-	-	-	32,102 58

With such success has the Society 'appealed to the moral sense of our countrymen.' But, 'for the consummation of their design,' as we have already intimated, 'they looked to mightier powers.'* The Constitution itself provides, that the Society 'shall act to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.'

It is unnecessary here to inquire, what assistance may be reasonably looked for from the former of these two sources. It was once supposed, that territory could be obtained only through a national medium; but the event proved otherwise. It was also apprehended that the Colony might not be safe either from savage or civilized foes, unless the United States should assume jurisdiction over it. The Committee, who in 1817 reported to Congress upon the Memorial of the President and Managers of the Society, stated that a *preliminary step* would be to provide for the perfect neutrality of the Colony, 'by the explicit assent and engagement of all the civilized Powers.'† But ten years afterwards, another Committee declared their opinion, that from the power of the maritime States of Europe and America, and the agitations and dangers of their frequent wars, 'the humanity of the world would afford a better protection than the flag of any single State, however powerful.' The Society, therefore, *urge* no proposal of this kind. Again; Mr. Jefferson once suggested, that nothing was more to be wished than that the United States would themselves make an establishment on the coast of Africa; 'but for this,' he added, 'the national mind is not prepared.'‡ Nor does the Society lay stress upon *any* claims on the Government, respecting which a question can be raised. So lately as the spring of the current year, Mr. Clay, who has uniformly been among the most efficient patrons and officers of the Institution,

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* African Repository for May, 1825.

† See *Report*—Fourteenth Congress, second Session; dated February 11, 1817. Mr. Pickering, of this State, was Chairman of the Committee.

‡ Letter to John Lynd.

remarked, on presenting in the Senate a Memorial in its behalf, that, as to the subject of colonizing the free blacks, 'he had not conclusively made up his mind upon the precise extent of the power of the Federal Government to promote it; it required a calm and dispassionate investigation, and would, under circumstances favorable to the consideration, be examined and decided.' Thus stands the constitutional question, so far as it is one. As to certain other kinds of countenance and aid, not here alluded to, a question can hardly be said to exist. They come plainly under the Executive department; and President Monroe, in particular, is well known to have liberally exercised, in behalf of the Society, the discretion which in these respects he supposed to belong to him. Instead of pursuing this subject, we shall only introduce, in illustration of our meaning, a suggestion made by Chief-Justice Marshall, in a letter to the Secretary of the Society, dated a few months since.

'It is undoubtedly of great importance to retain the countenance and protection of the General Government. Some of our cruisers stationed on the coast of Africa would, at the same time, interrupt the slave trade,—a horrid traffic detested by all good men,—and would protect the vessels and commerce of the Colony from pirates who infest those seas. The power of the Government to afford this aid is not, I believe, contested. I regret that its power to grant pecuniary aid is not equally free from question. On this subject, I have always thought, and still think, that the proposition made by Mr. King, in the Senate, is the most unexceptionable and the most effective that can be devised.'

The proposition of Mr. King, (of New York) here mentioned, and submitted to the Senate of the United States, in 1825, provided that upon the national debt being fully discharged, the national lands, with all proceeds of future sales, should constitute a fund for the emancipation and removal of such slaves as might be liberated under State laws, and for the aid of such free people of color as might be desirous of emigrating. Mr. Madison's opinions upon this point are much the same with Judge Marshall's.*

As to the State Governments, no exception whatever can be taken to any assistance they are able to render the Society,

* See the letters of Messrs. Madison and Marshall, with one from General Lafayette, (Vice Presidents of the Society,) at length, in the *Fifteenth Annual Report.*

and they may render much. The Legislature of Georgia, as long since as 1817, in providing for the disposal of blacks brought into that State contrary to the Federal law of 1808, *enacted*, that if, previously to the sale of any such persons, the Colonization Society should undertake to transport them to Africa, or any other foreign place, paying both the expenses of removal and the charges incurred by the State, 'his Excellency, the Governor, is authorized and requested to aid in promoting the benevolent views of said Society, in such manner as he may deem expedient.' A number of negroes have been colonized in pursuance of this regulation, and still more of the same class who came under the charge of the General Government. Virginia has once appropriated a portion of its funds to the promotion of the Society's purposes. Maryland, in 1826, gave them a thousand dollars. But a more liberal provision of the same character, made by the Legislature of that State at its last session, is the best illustration of the manner in which any of the States may avail themselves of the Society's system, whenever they deem it expedient, either for the promotion of the general good, or of their own more particular interest. The law referred to is quite voluminous and minute. Its principal sections provide, 1. For the appointment of three persons, being members of the Maryland Colonization Society, whose duty it shall be to take the necessary measures for removing, with their own consent, the people of color in Maryland, now free, or such as may become so, to Liberia, or any foreign location which *they* shall approve. 2. The appropriation of twenty thousand dollars, for the present year, towards carrying the object expressed in the first section into effect; the three Managers to make discretionary preparations at Liberia, or elsewhere, for the reception, accommodation and support of the emigrants, and to obtain and communicate to the people of Maryland all the information in their power respecting the Liberian settlement, or any other which may be selected. 3. The county clerks are required to notify the Managers of all deeds of manumission left with them to record; and the Managers to notify either the Maryland, or the American Colonization Society of the same. If these decline to transport them, the Managers are themselves to assume that duty. If the manumitted person refuse to emigrate, he is required to leave the State, the power being however reserved in certain courts to grant special permissions of residence. All slaves

are made capable of receiving manumission for the purpose of removal, 'of whatever age, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.' These are the outlines of the Maryland law. The bearing which, if continued in force, it may have on the welfare of that State, especially as connected with the slave system, and which analogous regulations, modified by circumstances, would have in other States, are considerations that unquestionably will arrest that attention, in many sections of the country, which their great importance demands.

We have spoken of the slave-system, and of the bearing which the colonization policy may be expected to have upon it. Far as we are from coveting the unnecessary agitation of that subject, and especially any agitation of it in a manner calculated to interfere wantonly even with the feelings of those who are mainly concerned in it, we yet think it incumbent upon us, in the examination of the Society's scheme, to allude particularly to a part of it, which has probably been more than all other parts together, an occasion of prejudice against the whole. We say prejudice, because we believe, as we shall endeavor to show, that the complaints and suspicions alluded to,—however much, under the circumstances of those who indulge them, they might have been anticipated as well as regretted by the Society, and however sincere the manner in which they are sometimes urged proves them to be,—are, nevertheless, owing only to the want either of full information or of dispassionate and thorough reflection. As regards the slave-holders and the slave-holding States, we hesitate not to believe, and we fear not to say, that nothing is requisite to make them universally the warmest patrons of the colonization policy, but a fair understanding of its principles. In many noble instances they are so already. The system originated in the wisdom of the Ancient Dominion. It was generously countenanced by Georgia in its earliest stages. Maryland has done more for it than all the other States. New Jersey, Kentucky and Tennessee, have declared themselves ready to support any legitimate interposition of the General Government in its favor. Louisiana and Mississippi are beginning to act vigorously. A single private body of men in North Carolina have contributed more to its support, than any other similar number in the Union. And its most illustrious and efficient friends, at this time and at all times, are and have been themselves owners of slaves, and residents in the midst

of a slave population. These circumstances alone, contrasted with the apprehensions expressed in other quarters by parties similarly situated, sufficiently indicate the necessity of a frank and full explanation. Let us know, then, what are the principles of the Colonization Society in reference to the slave system. We shall borrow our information on this subject from their official publications. The history of their career will be the surest test of its correctness.

In the first place, then, the Society, as a society, recognizes *no* principles in reference to the slave system. It says nothing, and proposes to do nothing, respecting it. Indeed, but for accusations and attacks subsequent to their formation, which they did not anticipate, we suppose they would hardly have undertaken to explain themselves on a point where the necessity of explanation, no more than the possibility of misunderstanding, ever occurred to them. The object, to which their attention is to be *exclusively* directed,—using the words of the Constitution,—is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) *the free people of color.*

Here perhaps the investigation might properly terminate. But though the Society, as such, recognize no principles, they do recognize opinions, upon the subject in question; and these opinions they do not seek to conceal. They have invariably disclosed, though never urged them, on all suitable occasions.

So far as we can ascertain, the supporters of the colonization policy generally believe, 1. That slavery is a moral and political evil. 2. That it is in this country a constitutional and legitimate system, which they have neither inclination, interest nor ability to disturb. 3. That neither the commencement nor the continuance of this system is generally chargeable to the slave-holders or the slave-holding States. 4. That the Governments and the individuals immediately and personally concerned in the system, and they alone, have the *right* to manage and modify it as they choose. 5. That it is their *interest*, and also peculiarly in their *power*, in reference to slavery, to promote the Society's design.

That the Society hold the first of these opinions, is too notorious to require proof. We have used the words of their official communications upon this subject, and they are full of similar sentiments from first to last.* Now whether they are

* See particularly the African Repository for September, 1830, and the Society's Fourteenth Annual Report.

correct in this opinion or not; whether it is, (to use their own language) 'a truth inscribed as it were upon the firmament of heaven, and the face of the earth, and the heart of man;' whether 'the denial of it would be the denial of the fundamental principles of all free governments,' we do not propose to decide. It is enough that they are sincere, while they do not profess to be infallible; that their declarations are in free, but not offensive language; and that they limit themselves altogether to the exercise of moral influence. They know the abstract diversity of opinion which exists, and they know still better the practical rights of those who differ from themselves.

Let us here remark, however, in regard to this diversity, that there is much less of it,—that is, that our countrymen, including those of the Southern States, are much more unanimous in considering slavery *an evil*, than may be generally supposed. Distinguished and highly respected individuals have indeed held otherwise. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, for example, several years ago described the South-Carolinian slavery as 'no greater nor more unusual evil than befalls the poor in general.' He also said that its extinction would be calamitous to the country; and that the system is sanctioned by the Mosaic, and at least tolerated by the Christian dispensation.* Governor Miller of the same State, in one of his messages to the Legislature, says; 'Slavery is not a national evil; on the contrary, it is a national benefit. Slavery exists in some form every where, and it is not of much consequence, in a philosophical view, whether it be voluntary or not.' These are certainly not the sentiments of the Colonization Society; and they do not hesitate to express their confidence, that even the Southern public are generally of *their* opinion. Many of their own number, indeed, belong to that section, and still more are or have been slave-holders. And they appeal to the authority of the greatest men whom the South has produced. The sentiments of Mr. Jefferson are too familiar to our readers, to be more than referred to. 'As we ought, with gratitude,' said Patrick Henry, in the Debates of the Virginia Convention, 'to admire that decree of Heaven which has numbered us among the free, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow-men in bondage.' The expressions of

† We refer to an address delivered in Charleston, before the State Agricultural Society, 1824.

Governor Randolph were, that he hoped no man would object to *their* discharge of their own duty, because there was some prospect 'that those unfortunate men, now held in bondage, might, by the operation of the General Government, be made free.' Judge Tucker wrote, in 1798, that the introduction of slavery into this country was at that day 'considered among its greatest misfortunes.' The venerable Judge Washington many years since observed, that if the Colonization Society should lead to the slow but gradual abolition of slavery, 'it will wipe from our political institutions, the only blot which stains them.' The declarations of many other of our illustrious fellow-citizens at the South and West, to the same effect, may be seen in the Society's official publication for January, 1829.* We should have spared such as we have already given, but for misrepresentations upon this point, which have recently been circulated by persons who are endeavoring to convince the public, that because the Society do not boisterously insist upon immediate abolition, therefore, they are doing all in their power to strengthen and justify the entire system and process of slavery from beginning to end. This logic requires no additional notice.

Such is the estimate which the Society place upon the abstract character of slavery. Still, say they, this system embraces in its provisions only the free. It does not interfere, it does not intend to interfere, with the rights or the interest of the proprietors of slaves. It seeks to quiet all unkind feelings between the sober and virtuous men of the North and of the South on the subject. It sends abroad no influence to disturb the peace, or endanger the security and prosperity of any portion of the country.†

Moreover, '*the States wherein it* [slavery] *exists are alone regarded as possessing the right and power, under the Constitution of the country, to legislate upon it.*'‡ Even more recently than the date of this declaration, Mr. Clay, in the Senate of the United States, on the occasion already alluded to, 'disclaimed, for the Colonization Society, all design of interrupting the arrangements of the States concerning slavery, *knowing that it was wholly removed beyond the jurisdiction of the General Government.*'

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* See also an able article upon this subject in a number of the Southern Review, published two or three years since.

† African Repository, for Sept. 1831. ‡ Ibid.

Again, say the Society, 'it condemns no man because he is a slave-holder.' While they zealously maintain the doctrine that every thing should be done to mitigate and eradicate slavery, which circumstances make it both possible and proper to do, they do not perceive the propriety of confounding the crime of the kidnapper, with the misfortune of the owner of imported and inherited slaves. As to unqualified emancipation, they consider individual happiness and individual freedom, as properly subordinate to the public good; and not less so in the case of the slave,—already a slave, be it remembered,—than in that (for example) of the minor. To come frankly to the point, they hold that it *is not right that men should be free, when their liberty will prove injurious to themselves and others;* and this principle, they conceive, applies to the circumstances of the slave population of the South and West, except so far as a modification of these circumstances, sufficient in itself to justify emancipation, may be effected by the Society's, or by some similar plan.

We have said, that they do not hold the present generation responsible for the existence of slavery, and of course not for its origin. It was a system entailed upon the South, by the Government to which it was subject. Take the history of Virginia for proof, whose colonial Legislature passed more than twenty acts to suppress slavery, all of which were negatived by the king. The same body, in 1776, abolished the slave-trade under their own jurisdiction. At the termination of the war, they permitted slave-owners to emancipate, either by will or deed.

The law of 1806, requiring emancipated persons to leave the State, was the result of a thorough experiment, which convinced those who looked about them, and who reflected maturely upon the subject, that manumission without removal was the occasion of more evil than good. Several of the slave-holding States have taken the same course; and several more, both slave-holding and others, have made regulations to prevent, among other things, the immigration into their own territory, of such persons as are turned out by their neighbors because *they* are unwilling to harbor them. The measures of a similar character, adopted in reference to the free blacks, previously resident, or not newly emancipated, need not be the subject of present discussion.

In respect to the population which is the occasion of these laws, the Colonization Society act upon precisely the same

principle which governs the States in excluding such as they emancipate, and which generally prevents individuals from manumitting at all, where the law makes no regulation to that effect. The only difference,—and that, as regards the welfare of the country at large, may be called an important one,—is, that the States and individuals legislate and act with a special reference to their own particular interests; whereas, the Society,—organized and universally operating with a view to the common benefit of North and South alike, the slave-holding and free States, the excluding and non-excluding,—maintains, that no slave ought to receive his liberty except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the State which sets him loose, but from the whole country; that is, of being colonized. They reason for all the States, as each one reasons for itself; and as Congress, if it had power to legislate, would legislate for all. If, we say, it had the power. This power the Society does not attribute to Congress. Congress itself does not claim it. A true indication of the sense of that body upon this point, and certainly a plausible exposition of the doctrine in question, may be found in a recent report of the Committee for the District of Columbia, on certain memorials praying the passage of a law for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade *within the said District.*

'Considering,' say the Committee, 'that the District is composed of cessions of territory made to the United States by the States of Virginia and Maryland, in both of which slavery exists, and the territories of which surround the District, your Committee are of opinion, that until the wisdom of the State Governments shall have devised some practicable means of eradicating or diminishing *the evil of slavery*, of which the memorialists complain, it would be unwise and impolitic, if not unjust to the adjoining States, for Congress *to interfere in a subject of such delicacy and importance, as is the relation between master and slave.*'

Congress, then, of its own suggestion, can do little or nothing for emancipation. Individual slave-owners must be governed by the laws of the States they reside in, did they believe, as they generally do not, that unqualified emancipation is justifiable in any point of view. The legislation of many of these States we have noticed. And now,—waiving abstract discussion, and taking matters as they are,—what may it be supposed will be the result of this legislation, on the interest of the slaves themselves? How far will emancipation be ultimately promoted? The answer must be a plain one. The free States, and the

hitherto non-excluding States, are no more ambitious to secure the immigration of the slaves let loose by Maryland, Virginia, and the other emancipating and excluding States, than the latter are to retain them in their new condition. There is some reason, why the former should and will object even more strongly than the latter to such a population, and the reasoning is becoming daily more cogent; for as more States adopt the system of legislation alluded to, fewer States are of course left to be receptacles for the circulating population which that system produces. Now, it is occasion enough for the existence of the Colonization Society, that such a population exists,—somewhere in the country,—being, as they believe, a burden not alone to itself, but to the whole country, and especially to the section where it happens to lodge. But still another motive looks to the cause of emancipation itself. As matters are proceeding, the process must soon be suspended. The States which have not yet legislated, will be forced to do so in self-defence. Not to adduce other instances to support our remark, Ohio has been among the first to adopt rigorous measures; and Pennsylvania, always distinguished for her noble liberality of sentiment and action in regard to this subject, sees herself on the brink of the same necessity:

'Whereas,' are the words of a preamble and resolution recently proposed to the House of Delegates in that State, 'the States of Virginia and Maryland are about to pass some penal enactments for the purpose of expelling their free black population from their respective States, amounting to the number of about one hundred and twenty-three thousand, whereby the adjoining States, without some countervailing provision by law, must be overrun by an influx of ignorant, indolent and depraved population, most dangerous to the peace, rights and liberties of our fellow-citizens, and tending to undermine the fundamental principles of the republic: Therefore

'*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Judicial system be instructed to inquire into the expediency of passing a law to protect the good citizens of this Commonwealth against the evils arising from the emigration of free blacks from other States into Pennsylvania.'

When, to the population here mentioned, we come to add that of the same description treated in the same manner by other States, and then the whole of that numerous class now in the process or prospect of being *made* free, it is not to

be wondered at, certainly, that the result we have spoken of as approaching, is already in progress. Emancipation must cease. The slave-holding States will not retain such persons as they manumit. The others, one by one, will refuse to receive them. And then the manufacture,—already and always a drug,—must absolutely cease for want of a market.

We have not here argued any question relating to the free blacks at large. Similar considerations apply to the country as regards them, and others to them as regards the country; but these are the foundation of a distinct argument. Nor do we undertake to decide on the abstract propriety or policy of the system of legislation referred to, as adopted in the first instance. It is sufficient in the present connexion, to show, that such legislation exists, and to prove its effect, so far as this effect is proved by facts. Statement alone is argument.

We come now to the question, what can the Society do for slaves, and what does it wish to do? The answer is, it offers the means of their removal to such States or individuals as choose to emancipate them for that purpose. It both induces and justifies this emancipation, by supplying that provision which, in one form or another, all parties alike deem indispensable. It conveys to Liberia, rather from than for Maryland, the manumitted emigrant who otherwise, as circumstances are, would perhaps settle in Massachusetts or Indiana, and who, as circumstances probably will be, would soon lose the possibility of being manumitted at all. The first preliminary to this operation is the consent of the master. The second is the consent of the slave. It does not appear to us, that the Society's expectations of effecting something in pursuance of these principles, are visionary or extravagant. We believe, that while no intelligent citizen can possibly take offence at this proposal to remove, or assist in removing or settling, such persons as may be committed to their charge with that view, a great number of slave-holders, in all parts of the country, are ready to avail themselves of the offer. Thousands are connected with the system of slavery from necessity, and not from choice. Perhaps the laws of the State they reside in, provide emancipation. If so, why is it; and if not, why are they still unwilling to emancipate? Here is a plantation, stocked with a hundred slaves, of which one man was born the proprietor. Why not let them loose forthwith, as the aboli-

tionists would advise? To this question, he replies, perhaps, that as to his own interest, though he is himself the best judge of that, as he is also of his own rights, yet that is a subordinate point. Setting the public welfare aside, he, too, must regard the interest of the slave. Circumstances beyond his control, have made it a duty which he cannot avoid, to provide for his sustenance and comfort. He looks around him, and observes the effect which emancipation has had upon others. This observation convinces him that the slave is incapable of taking care of himself. To manumit him, will be to make him a felon or a pauper; and he does not believe that any abstract reasoning whatever upon slavery, or the slave-trade, or the rights of the original African in his own country, can justify him in doing either the one or the other. Whether this is entirely sound reasoning, on the whole, or how far it is so, it belongs not to us to determine. Its sincerity at least ought not to be doubted. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that such has been and is the theory of almost all, who have had the best means of examining the subject. Even throughout the very animated debates in the Parliament, which preceded the British abolition of the slave-trade, zealous as many enlightened and illustrious men were in the cause of the negroes, no other doctrine than this on the point in question was suggested. 'A rash emancipation of the slaves,' said Mr. Pitt, 'would be *mischievous. It would be no justice on either side to give them liberty. They were as yet incapable of it*,' &c. Mr. Fox heartily agreed with Mr. Pitt; 'it might be as *dangerous*,' he thought, 'at once to liberate a man used to slavery, as in the case of one who had never seen daylight, to expose him at once to the full glare of a meridian sun.' Mr. Wilberforce said, 'the negroes were uninformed and debased. Hence they were unfit for civil rights,' &c. But waiving authorities,—which have been alluded to rather in illustration than confirmation of the reasoning stated above,—it is enough here to be reminded, that such *is* the reasoning of the West and South, and hence it is, we have no hesitation in saying, that 'hundreds of humane and Christian slave-holders retain their fellow-men in bondage;—because they are convinced that they can do no better.'* Of those who avail themselves of their legal com-

* Address to the Public by the Managers of the Colonization Society of Connecticut, in 1828.

petency to manumit, on condition of the removal of the slaves from the State,—that is, into some other State,—and of the consequences of this process, we have already spoken.

To return again to facts; so far as we have the means of ascertaining the truth, that class of slave-owners just mentioned, who object to emancipation for reasons professedly conscientious, are generally, as might be supposed, willing to emancipate them on condition of their being colonized. The Society has met with many evidences of such a disposition. A gentleman in Georgia, for instance, offered them, in 1828, the whole of his slaves, forty-three in number, for the purpose of being colonized. During the same season, a clergyman in Virginia offered them seventeen.

'They are as desirable a parcel,' he writes to the Society, 'for their integrity and industry, as any man owns. But I cannot do my duty to them in their present situation. I have been trying to teach them to read, but the circumstances of their situation render this an almost hopeless task. The younger are as fine-looking little fellows as you have seen, and in a land of freedom they would avoid many habits incidental to a state of slavery, and in due time, under God's blessing, become useful to the Colony. In giving up my negroes, I shall become poor. I can at present do nothing more for them than give them their liberty. Will you take them on these terms?'

An instance of considerate liberality, not less striking, occurred about the same time, on the part of a lady, who wrote to the Secretary in the following terms. We cite these passages, to indicate the feeling, as well as to prove the fact, we have stated above.

'I then understood [alluding to a former conversation] that in case I should so arrange my affairs as to be able to offer my slaves to the Colonization Society, you thought they would undertake to send them to Liberia. I have deferred making a direct application, until obtaining a full and legal title to them, which I might be able to transfer. I have labored incessantly to effect this end, and I am now in full possession, as lawful purchaser, of twenty-five negroes, and am prepared to dispose of them in the way which may appear most advisable for their benefit. They are young and promising; a number of young boys, some young girls, and a few old persons; but out of the number are several who are decidedly opposed to going to Liberia, and prefer slavery here to freedom in Africa. These I

should not think of using force with. My situation is such, as precludes the possibility of my doing more than to give them their freedom. They are awarded to me at a valuation of four thousand one hundred dollars.'

In 1826, Mr. Minge, of Charles County, Virginia, not only emancipated more than *eighty* slaves, for the purpose of sending them to Hayti, but chartered a brig for their transportation, furnished them with supplies, and distributed a peck of dollars among them as a farewell present. Mr. Henshaw, near Richmond, liberated sixty, to be sent to Liberia. A year or two subsequently, a gentleman in Kentucky writes to the Society, that he 'will give up twelve or fifteen of his colored people now, and so on gradually, till the whole are given up (sixty), *if means for their passage to Liberia can be provided.*' In January, 1829, offers were pending to the Society of more than two hundred slaves, ready to be manumitted on the same conditions. At that time, thirty had just been sent out from Maryland, and twenty-five from South Carolina; and to pass over several hundreds more who have either been colonized, or necessarily neglected for want of funds, and as many more whose freedom has been provided for by will, on condition of removing, we find it stated in Mr. Carey's pamphlet, and in the last Annual Report of the Society, that in North Carolina and the adjacent States alone, 'the applications for the transportation of free negroes *and slaves* proposed to be emancipated on condition of removal to Liberia, far exceed its means.' *From three to four thousand* of both descriptions, we are afterwards informed, are ready to embark. In 1830, it appears, that the Society of *Friends* belonging to the State just named, had enabled six hundred and fifty-two colored persons under their care to emigrate, with an unknown number of children, husbands, and wives, connected with them by consanguinity. Many of them are understood to have been slaves. Their generous benefactors had then expended nearly thirteen thousand dollars; and four hundred and two persons remained, who were also to be removed. It is not easy to calculate how much more rapidly this process might have gone on, had the Society directed its entire attention to promoting it. This they have not been in a situation to do with propriety. Until the last season, they have not even employed a General Agent for the Western States; and yet the person now acting in that

capacity, writing to the Secretary a few months since from New Orleans, observes, that he has found more men of influence and distinction (slave-holders), who manifest an unshaken determination to sustain any effort that may be made in favor of the cause, than in any other place.* He then gives a detail of facts, which show, that hundreds are ready to be manumitted in all the Western States, whenever the means of sending them off shall be matured. No doubt the Society have prevented many proposals of the same kind in other quarters, by the frequent declarations they have made of their inability to meet half of the applications they receive. They have been limited by the extent of their funds, and also by the obvious necessity of supplying their settlements in due proportion with emigrants of a different character. For the better illustration of the policy of commixture, as hitherto observed, we have made up as complete a statement as our documents enable us, of the settlers actually colonized previously to the current year. It will furnish matter for reflection also, in some other points of view. The number of re-captured Africans and manumitted slaves colonized each year, since 1824, are placed respectively in separate columns. Previously to that date, we are not able to furnish a full list; but they are probably not many more than appear in the table.

Whole number down to May,		Rec. Africans.	Slaves.
1823,	225	15	—
1824,	105	—	—
1825,	66	—	—
1826,	288	—	13
1827,	238	142	—
1828,	295	—	88
1829,	160	—	44
1830,	406	91	198
1831,	445	—	45

It would give us the greatest pleasure to dwell upon several instances of noble generosity, which have occurred in the course of these manumissions. Such, for example, as the manumitters purchasing the freedom of other slaves, kindred to those manumitted, at a great expense, for the sake of colonizing

* See Mr. Finley's Letter in the Repository for January last.

whole families together,*—but the space we have already occupied with this subject, forbids us to enlarge farther.

As we have already said, the number sent out by the Society of the class of emigrants last mentioned is small, compared with the number of applicants. About two hundred were colonized in 1830, being more than twice as many as in any other year; but so far was this from satisfying the wishes of the slave-holders, that six hundred applications for a passage (besides those of one thousand *free* blacks) were pending at the commencement of that season; and the Society were informed upon respectable authority, that two thousand slaves were ready to be liberated in North Carolina alone, provided the Society would undertake the charge of them. Among those in the same situation a few months since, were about fifty, manumitted by one gentleman in Georgia, who have since been sent out to the Colony.

The number of slaves colonized is small, also, in comparison with the whole number of emigrants. But we think not too small, for the first stages of an experiment, of which the perfect prosperity and good reputation were of so much consequence in the outset. The same obvious reasons which make the slaves unfit for absolute emancipation here, have made it impolitic and therefore improper for the Society to receive such persons as settlers, frequently or in any considerable number at one time. It must be observed, too, that some hundreds of re-captured Africans have been among the Society's *protégés*,—as complete barbarians as were ever the miserable victims of the slave-trade. Nothing needs be added in relation to the remaining population, or of the numerous cares involved in the general management of the Colony.

The discretion heretofore exercised in the selection of emigrants has concurred with other circumstances to prevent an increase in the mere size of the Colony, which, though transiently subservient to its popularity, would certainly have been premature and perhaps ultimately fatal to its interests. At some future time, more latitude in this respect may probably be admissible. The most critical days of the Colony are gone

* One lady at the South, besides surrendering her own slaves and supplying them, gave eight hundred dollars for two of their relatives to accompany them to the Colony. Examples of this character ought not to be lost.

by. Its foundations have been laid broad and firm, and may be built upon with a liberal though still cautious hand. Eight or ten flourishing settlements have been opened, with abundant accessions of the finest territory in the world, extending along a line of sea-coast for nearly three hundred miles, teeming with the luxuriant verdure of the tropics, and watered by magnificent rivers. A system of allotment and occupation has been matured by experiment, which adapts itself to the situation of the recent emigrants in a manner that leaves little to be desired. In 1828, Mr. Ashmun, than whom no man better understood the interests of the Colony, expressed an opinion that, for two years then to come, a more discriminating selection of settlers should be made, than had been even in the first expeditions; and that otherwise the prosperity of the Colony would decline. 'At the end of that time,' he farther observed, 'the free colored population of the United States may be taken up *just as they are found there*, the working and the idle, as they are naturally distributed throughout the American States,—and sent to this Colony,—and my character for the stake, under good management, they will not be felt by it as a burden.'* This calculation,—and it applies to the manumitted slaves, as much as it does to the class specially referred to,—has the appearance of being a little sanguine. But the Society have at all events erred on the safe side, in following their Agent's suggestions more strictly and for a longer term than he would have required. They have their reward, truly, and not in their own consciences alone. They enjoy it in the gratitude of those, who by their instrumentality have been transformed from savages and slaves in a foreign country, to freeholders and citizens in the fair land of their forefathers. They enjoy it in the accomplishment, thus far, of all and more than all they have toiled for, in the contentment, the order, the prosperity, the praise of an establishment, which,—young and small as it is, and humble, though noble, as have been the means of its founders,—is for these very reasons only the more worthy of admiration and the more sure of success.

They will enjoy it, too, in the confidence of that large class of the American People, whose co-operation has been said to be essential to the perfection of that success. The Colonization Society, though instituted for other purposes declared by

* Letters from Africa, published in the *Repository* for May, 1828.

its constitution and developed by its history, has yet no more lost sight of the interest of the slaves, and of the whole country as connected with them, than it has of the rights of their masters. A part of these they suppose to be conscientiously attached to that system, as a system, as well as interested in the wealth which it constitutes. Such men, though they believe them to be mistaken, they address only by the circuitous but certain influence of example, evidence and reason. The same arguments must be left in the same way to succeed or fail in their application to such as have inherited the system of slavery from their fathers (upon whom it was forced) and have lived upon it, and in the midst of it, without it having ever occurred to them to debate and decide upon its merits. But others are willing to manumit. Be the motive what it may, interest, fear, patriotism, benevolent impulse, or regard to abstract principle, or all these combined, the Society proffers its services to all, and would convince all that what they would do may be done. They may act directly as States, like Maryland and Virginia. They may 'invite the United States to assist them all,'* as many governments in the Union have already suggested.

But so far and so long as they are obliged to act individually, the Society addresses them as individuals. A few are disposed to manumit without qualification, if they can but liberate the slave, and be liberated from him. These are few, indeed, and these circumstances indicate that they are moved by what they conceive to be a necessity. But they are numerous enough to have excited the apprehensions of the States they reside in, as well as of the States in their neighborhood; so that laws have been passed on one hand to operate as conductors, and upon the other, as non-conductors of the evils produced. One result is, as we have seen, to accumulate them in those sections which still neglect to legislate. This concerns not the manumitters very much at present, though the re-action from the parties afflicted will certainly concern them hereafter. But the vast majority of those who would emancipate, we have no

* 'As to the people of color, if the people of the Southern States wished to emancipate them, (and he never would consent to emancipate them without sending them out of the country,) *they might invite the United States to assist us:* but without such an institution, the other States ought not, and would not interfere.' *Remarks of President Monroe.* See Debates of the Virginia Convention.

hesitation in saying, are deterred from it by a patriotism and a philanthropy, which look beyond the bounds of their particular district, and beyond the ostensible quality of the mere abstract act. They believe it to be unjust to the slave, to turn him out, slave as he is,—still will be,—ignorant, destitute and despised, if nothing more, upon the highways of the world. They believe it to be unjust to their common country. They consider it still more an encroachment on the equitable, if not legal rights of those sections compelled to receive the population which themselves reject,—a burden not merely shifted, but first created by the act of manumission,—manufactured and then exported. They think themselves bound to retain their slaves during the continuance of these circumstances, *as* they think themselves bound, and are bound, to retain and maintain their children during minority; and for the much stronger reason, besides, that the former are far more able and likely to do and receive harm.

Such is the relation, such are the sentiments of one of the most influential classes of their fellow-citizens, whose confidence the Society desire, and whose co-operation they solicit. They have received both. They have received them beyond their own expectations,—against them. They have received them in the counsel and countenance of the greatest men, whom the slave-holding States have produced; in the active support of their own most efficient members, citizens of those States, and themselves owners of slaves; in the appropriations of two and the declarations of several more of these same States, and especially in a thousand voices of encouragement, and a thousand individual acts, worthy of the magnanimous charity of the West and the South.

And we doubt not they will receive them yet farther. They have supplied precisely the desideratum which was wanting, both to induce emancipation and to justify it. To an extent sufficient for experiment it takes place now, and to a far greater extent it will take place hereafter, without prejudice to any section, and, as the Society have always maintained, with the prospect of benefit to all. Nor is a mere removal of the manumitted population what they propose. This is indeed one consideration, but the slave-holders require something more. Simple humanity suggests, that they should not be satisfied with the *transportation* of the slave, as if it were the exportation of a bale of goods or the exile of a criminal. They would have

him at least as comfortable in his new situation as he was in his old; and this, by the way, is probably much more so, than many people in the free States are apt to imagine.*

An outline of this new situation has already been given, in commenting upon the general plan of the Society. Nor do we propose, at the end of an article so long as this has become, to pursue the examination of that plan any farther, than to mention a few facts of the most importance, pertinent to the particular point now in question. Not much needs be added to what has been said, summary as it is, respecting the location of the Colony, and the amount and quality of the territory belonging to it. The account furnished by the emigrants themselves, in a memorial addressed, in 1827, to their free colored brethren in the United States, has, so far as we know, been universally allowed to be correct. It shows at least, that *they* are satisfied, and that is in itself one point gained.

'The soil,' say they, 'is not exceeded for fertility or productiveness, when cultivated, by any soil in the world. The hills and plains are covered with perpetual verdure. The productions of the soil go on through the year without intermission. Notwithstanding the imperfection of the farming tools used by the natives, they raise more than they can consume, and frequently more than they can sell. Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats and sheep thrive without feeding, and require no other care than to keep them from straying. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and the sugar-cane are all the spontaneous growth of our forests; and may be cultivated at pleasure to any extent. The same may be said of rice, indian corn, guinea corn, millet, and too many species of fruit to be enumerated.'

Under these circumstances, agriculture may certainly be expected to thrive; nor is it the only resource. 'Mechanics,' adds the memorial, 'of nearly every trade are carrying on their

* In the debates of the last Virginia House of Delegates, Mr. Gholson acknowledged the evils of the system, and thought it the duty of the people to mitigate them as much as possible. He added, 'the slaves are as happy a laboring class as exists upon the face of the habitable globe: They are as well fed, clothed and treated;' and this he goes on to substantiate. We should, ourselves, qualify these remarks a little; but we should qualify much more several counter-representations which have occasionally come to our notice. Mr. G. we should add, 'would not discuss the question of the abstract right of slavery.'

various occupations; their wages are high, and a large number would be sure of constant and profitable employment.' Indeed, it is only to be feared that the facilities which exist for making money in other business, will rather prejudice the agricultural interest. The colonial Agent writes home under date of last August, that 'the generality of emigrants, finding they *can acquire a subsistence for themselves and their families in other pursuits*, are very apt to defer the improvement of their farm lands to some distant period. Emigrants on their arrival see examples, where men, by devoting themselves solely to commercial pursuits, have attained comparative affluence,' &c.* No doubt, care will be taken to encourage the more regular and safe investment of labor and capital. The commercial prospects of the Colony at large, which are highly flattering, need not be minutely discussed. We allude to that department here, only as connected with the personal condition of the colonists. The *Liberia Herald*,† dated a few months since, after mentioning the products of a part of the territory, called Grand Bassa, gives the following agreeable picture.

'The beach is lined with Liberians of all ages, from twelve to fifty years of age, eager in the pursuit of traffic, and in the acquisition of camwood. It is astonishing, what little time is necessary to qualify even the youngest to drive as hard a bargain as any roving merchant from the land of steady habits, with his assortment of tin ware, nutmegs, books, or dry goods.'

Generally, every emigrant is at liberty to adopt what occupation he prefers. Each adult, on arrival, receives a building-lot in one of the settlements. If within three miles of a town, he is allowed five acres of plantation lands; if married, two for his wife, and one for each of his children, the whole not to exceed ten acres: beyond that distance, fifty acres for himself and family, with the privilege of purchasing within five years thereafter, fifty adjacent acres at the rate of twenty-five cents.

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* African Repository for Nov. 1831.

† A weekly paper established at Monrovia,—the principal of the eight or ten settlements of the Colony,—about two years ago, and conducted in a manner highly creditable to the editor, Mr. Russwurm, a colored man. We had the pleasure of knowing him during his connexion with Bowdoin College, Me. where he graduated in 1826. His good education and excellent habits cannot fail to make him both useful and distinguished in his new situation.

The Agent has been authorized also to make a donation to any colonist or association of colonists, of a quantity of land not exceeding five hundred acres, on condition that the same be appropriated to the culture of coffee, cotton, and the sugar-cane. To secure a title in fee simple to his lot, the occupant is obliged to build, within two years, a comfortable house, and clear and put under cultivation two acres of his land. The mechanic is expected to erect a substantial house on his town lot. Suitable provision is made for invalids, minors, and single women. All emigrants, on their first arrival, are admitted into buildings provided for their accommodation, and are supported more or less from the public stores, until able to maintain themselves. This term has varied heretofore from four to twelve months. Provisions, stuffs, shoes, and other necessaries, are always to be bought at the public stores for labor, a preference being given to the emigrants last arrived. Schools have been established at three of the settlements, which are accessible to every child in the Colony. In Monrovia, there are three churches. Divine service is performed thrice on Sunday, and on two evenings during the week; the preachers, like the instructers, being all persons of color. An Infirmary for Invalids has commenced operations. The military force is made up of six or seven volunteer uniform companies, numbering about five hundred men.

In regard to civil affairs, the constitution provides for the exercise of full powers of government by the Society, in the person of the Colonial Agent. The colonists are, however, allowed annually to choose a Vice-Agent, and two other officers, constituting with him what is called the Council. The former takes the place of the Agent, whenever necessary. The colonists also elect, from their own number, a High Sheriff, Treasurer, Health Officer, Agricultural Boards, and other functionaries. The Judiciary consists of the Agent and two justices created by his appointment. Judicial proceedings are regulated chiefly by the common law, the regulations peculiar to the Colony being few and simple. A Court of monthly sessions, with appellate jurisdiction, is held for the trial of offences above the degree of larceny. It speaks sufficiently for the moral character of the Colony, that no capital crime has been committed there since its commencement; and very few, we believe, of any description.

The Society has always contended, that debased as the

blacks are but too generally among ourselves,—their misfortune and not their fault,—the most ignorant and humble of them were capable of becoming, under favorable circumstances, intelligent, industrious, and competent, in every point of view, for all the offices of an independent, social, and civil community. The experiment has succeeded to a very encouraging extent. Removed from the thraldom of slavery, and the pressure of circumstances more humiliating and degrading than slavery itself, the slave, when he leaps a free man upon the shore of his own ancient land, seems to throw off his very nature with his chains. The accounts to this effect, which reach us from all quarters, are gratifying in the highest degree. Take, for example, Mr. Mechlin's description of the manumitted slaves sent out in 1828, by the Harriet. They were located on farms at Caldwell, a town beautifully situated at the junction of two fine rivers, and consisting of one street, about a mile and a half long, kept very clean, and planted on either side with rows of plantains and bananas. An ornamented open space is left between these and the water. Mr. Mechlin says;

'I was particularly struck with the great progress made by the Harriet's people in the cultivation of their farms, and had I not known to the contrary, should have supposed they had occupied them at least two or three years. In short, the whole place is in a high state of cultivation, and the inhabitants by their industry have placed themselves above want.'

The advances made by the re-captured Africans, under the admirable management of the Society in regard to them, have been equally surprising. Of the one hundred and forty-two colonized in 1828, only twenty remained, at the end of a week, a charge to the United States, by whom they were sent out. The majority were put out to service with old settlers for a certain term, with the expectation of being afterwards treated like other emigrants. A few months subsequently, the Colonial Agent describes them as having more than equalled his highest anticipations. More recently, they have been comfortably settled upon farms of their own. In 1830, the Vice-Agent speaks thus of the ninety-one persons of the same class, colonized early in that season.

'I cannot perceive that the climate has any effect upon the re-captured people per the Heroine; they have all been placed on

lands assigned them, and have already constructed twenty superior country houses, thatched in a manner peculiar to themselves, and far surpassing those of any of the natives. As regards the old ones of this class, I consider them as the most independent men whom we have. Could you behold their neat town of New Georgia, you would be delighted, and could hardly believe, that these were the individuals, who, when in the United States, in a state of bondage, had no thought for the morrow. They supply our market with vegetables, potatoes, fowls, melons, &c. and the readiness with which the sales have been effected, has been a spur to their industry. Many of them also labor in this settlement all their spare time, besides attending to the cultivation of their farms.'

A word or two upon the climate and the health of the colonists. It is unnecessary to notice the rumors, which naturally enough have been circulated at different times upon these subjects, facts being much the best evidence which the case admits of. All these, and especially the fact, that the population of the Colony is now not far from two thousand five hundred, go to corroborate the statements universally made by those, who have had the best opportunities of observing the truth. These are not, indeed, unqualified. They admit that the climate is not favorable to the white man; that it is less favorable to emigrants from the Northern than the Southern States; that, comparatively, a considerable number of deaths have occurred in the case of three or four expeditions; and that sanitary precautions ought to be used by, and with emigrants of every class, for some time after their arrival. But these precautions have been precisely ascertained by experience, and at present it may be safely said, that nothing but discretion is necessary, to render emigration from America to Liberia as safe as that from England to the Canadas. Physicians, hospitals, and other accommodations have been provided; the proper season and comforts of transportation ascertained; and the necessity of undue confinement, exertion or exposure done away, by the prosperous condition and ample increase of the settlements. These were the causes of the occasional mortality just alluded to; and since they no longer exist, the proportion of deaths exhibited by official documents, is less than it is in Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York.*

* Letter of Captain Sherman.

For those who come from the North and the higher regions of the South and West, situations will hereafter be prepared at Caldwell, and other places in the interior, where the climate is not surpassed by any in the world. The *seasoning* these will still have to undergo will be mild. Emigrants from the Carolinas, Georgia, and certain parts of Virginia, escape it almost uniformly; as it is, not a man died of the one hundred and fifty-four carried out by the Indian Chief, from North Carolina, in 1826; only one aged and infirm female, of the one hundred and seven who left Baltimore in the Doris; and not one of the Randolph's passengers from South Carolina, the ninety-one re-captured Africans colonized by the General Government in 1829; nor lastly, but one, we believe, of the three hundred and forty-three who went out last December from Southampton county and other parts of Virginia. On the whole, the truth appears to be fairly stated in the very excellent letter of Captain Weaver, who visited the Colony in April, 1831. He says;

'Nature seems to have ordained, that on a removal from a temperate clime to the torrid zone of Africa, in order to become acclimated, it is necessary, in most cases, to pass through the ordeal of fever. The friends of the Colony must not flinch from the question. Investigation will render that ordeal lighter. It is, I believe, a true assertion, that the natives of that part of the coast are uncommonly healthy,—*so are the acclimated emigrants!* In future, when emigrants are sent there from the interior of this country, I would earnestly recommend, that the detention on the sea-board, and at the mouth of the St. Paul's and Montserado rivers, should be as short as possible.'

Mr. Ashmun, several years since, expressed himself thus;

'Not an hour have I spent here without feeling the refreshing and salutary influences of a fresh breeze from the ocean. The settlement can never be without it. * * No situation of Western Africa can be more salubrious. The sea air does all that can be done for it in this climate. One peculiarity is, that the night air is nearly as pure as any other. * * The rapidity and luxuriance of vegetation here, the natives of temperate latitudes can hardly imagine.'

We shall only add to these accounts another given by the colonists themselves, in their address to the colored people of this

country. They admit the facts we have mentioned, and then observe;

'The true character of the African climate is not understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, and as long-lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in the Colony,—nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet existed in that part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one,—too great not to affect the health, more or less,—and in the case of old people, and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the Colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But *we look back to these times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. Our houses and circumstances are now comfortable; and for the last two or three years, not one person in fifty, from the Middle and Southern States, has died from the change of climate.*'

We have said that the colonists, who are the best judges of their own situation, are satisfied, and many of them delighted with it. The proof is, that scarcely an individual among them has returned to America, or expressed a desire to do so, or to leave the Colony for any other place; and that intelligent gentlemen of high respectability concur in statements upon this point, which were the result of their own observation. Captain Kennedy, of the United States frigate Java, who visited the Colony about a year since, gives his testimony as follows;

'It may not be improper to observe in the outset, that my inquiries were commenced under impressions very unfavorable to the practicability of the scheme of your Society; for while, I trust, I yielded unfeigned acknowledgment of the piety and purity of purpose which governed its worthy and disinterested projectors, yet the vast difficulties attending the prosecution of their labors, and the very problematical results, in the want of success, left an impression upon my mind, altogether unfavorable to the Institution;—under these impressions, therefore, I commenced my inquiry with great caution. I sought out the most shrewd and intelligent of the colonists, many of whom were personally known to me, and by long and weary conversations, endeavored to elicit

from them any dissatisfaction with their condition (if such existed) or any latent design to return to their native country. Neither of these did I observe; on the contrary, I thought I could perceive that they considered that they had started into a new existence; that,—disencumbered of the mortifying relations in which they formerly stood in society,—they felt themselves proud in their attitude, and seemed conscious that, while they were the founders of a new empire, they were prosecuting the noble purpose of the regeneration of the land of their fathers.'*

The following is Captain Abels's short but satisfactory letter to the Secretary.

'*Washington, February* 10, 1832.

'*Dear Sir:*

'Having just arrived in the United States from the Colony of Liberia, to which place I went as master of the Schooner Margaret Mercer, and where I remained thirteen days, during which time I was daily on shore, and carefully observed the state of affairs, and inquired into the condition of the people, I venture to state some facts in regard to the circumstances and prospects of the Colony. On the 14th December I arrived, and on the 15th went on shore, and was received in the most polite and friendly manner by the Governor, Dr. Mechlin, who introduced me to the ministers and principal inhabitants. All the colonists appeared to be in good health. All my expectations in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, were more than realized. There are about two hundred buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Montserado, not far from a mile and a quarter.—Most of these are good substantial houses and stores, (the first story of many of them being of stone,) and some of them handsome, spacious, painted, and with Venitian blinds. Nothing struck me as more remarkable than the great superiority, in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect of the people, over their colored brethren in America. So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people, should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States. Among all that I conversed with, *I did not find a discontented person,* or hear one express a desire to return to America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being

* See *Fifteenth Report.* We regret not being at liberty to publish more extracts from this long and very intelligent description of the Colony. Not the least of its recommendations is its manifest candor.

a Minister of the Gospel, on Christmas day I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist churches, to full and attentive congregations, of from three to four hundred persons in each. I know of no place, where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia. I was glad to see that the Colonial Agent or Governor is a constant attendant on Divine service, and appears desirous of promoting the moral and religious welfare of the people. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property; and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and their children in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world. Could the free people of color in this country but see the real condition of their brethren who have settled in Africa, I am persuaded they would require no other motive to induce them to emigrate. This is my decided and deliberate judgment.

Very respectfully, sir, your friend and servant,
WILLIAM ABELS.'

Dr. Shane of Washington, who volunteered to go out with the New Orleans expedition, writes thus under date of February last.

'Cape Montserado itself is a most beautiful and commanding place, far surpassing the most favorable idea I had formed of it,—indeed I am greatly disappointed. I see not as fine and splendid mansions as in the United States, nor as extensive and richly stocked farms as the well-tilled lands of Ohio, but I here see a fine and very fertile country, inviting, as it were, its poor and oppressed sons to thrust in their sickle and gather up its fulness. I here see many who left the United States in straitened circumstances, living with all the comforts of life around them, enjoying a respectable and useful station in society, and wondering that their brethren in the United States, who have it in their power, do not flee to this asylum of happiness and liberty, where they can enjoy all the unalienable rights of man.—I was much surprised on visiting at least sixty people with Dr. Hall, to find them uniformly expressing their gratitude, in being released from the degradation they had so long labored under, and that they had at last found a place, where themselves and children could sit under their own vine and fig-tree, and none to make them afraid.'

Here we shall leave our remarks upon the new situation of the colonists, as compared with the old; and here properly concludes the argument, which the Colonization Society ad-

dresses to the slave-owners. Beginning with a disclaimer of any influence upon slavery but a moral one,—of any effect upon the slave but such as may follow from the free act of the master,—they do not conceal their opinion that the system itself is an evil, and even a great evil. But they deem it to be the misfortune and not the crime of the slave-holding States, and of the whole of our common country. They consider it a constitutional system. They acknowledge, that the power to control it lies only with the owners. But respecting as they do, both the rights and the reasoning of those who compose this class, they know that many of them, and they believe that many more, are, and will be even anxious to emancipate, under conditions which are thought indispensable to justify that act, and which heretofore have not existed. The circumstances involved in the conditions, the Society have provided; and they now solicit from the slave-owners, as from every other class of the community, a candid examination of the facts they are able to furnish. We doubt not, that such examination will be given. Nor have we the least apprehension of the result, as regards the Society and its patrons. Of the final result of the joint efforts of both, upon this country, or upon Africa,—neither of which subjects we have undertaken to discuss,—it needs only be said here, as it safely may be, that while a prospect exists of doing much good, there is a certainty of doing some. Set aside, absolutely, that part of our population,—the people of color *now* free,—to whose welfare the Society has devoted the greater share of its exertion, say nothing of the interest of that unfortunate class of men as regards this country, or the interest of this country as regards them,—indulge in no estimate that, 'exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from such a Colony might defray all its expenses,'*—and far more, call it the dream of the enthusiast, that every portion of Africa may be civilized, that the slave-trade may be suppressed, that the American slave-system may be meliorated by this scheme, or by anything which may grow from it. Suppose, in a word, that the Society and the slave-owners do look to 'motives of humanity' alone, and that they look no farther than the colonist and the Colony itself are concerned. We envy not the feelings of the man, who doubts that the liberality and labor of both parties must

* Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Lynd.

be repaid a thousand fold into their own bosoms. We plead guilty ourselves of a sensation of pleasure, at even reading the simple description recently given by the Society's Western Agent, (Mr. Finley of Ohio) of the first expedition, which took place a few months since, of emigrants to Liberia from the valley of the Mississippi. The majority of them,—slaves of remarkably good character,—were manumitted for the purpose, including eleven, belonging to Mr. Breckenridge of Kentucky, who also sent with them a considerable sum of money to be expended for their benefit. Other valuable presents were made by the citizens of New Orleans.

'When,' says Mr. Finley, 'the vessel unloosed from her moorings to put to sea, she was visited by several friends and strangers, whom benevolence or curiosity attracted to witness the departure of the emigrants. They were very cheerful, smiling gaily at the prospect before them. A hymn was sung, in which the officers and crew, emigrants and visiters, mingled their voices in unfeigned solemnity. After which, the Rev. Mr. Donans made an affectionate and pertinent address, and invoked upon them the blessings of Almighty God. When we extended them the parting hand and bade them adieu forever, they seemed overcome by a sense of our kindness and burst into tears. Thus departed, accompanied by the sympathies and prayers of the patriot and Christian, the first expedition of emigrants to Liberia, from the valley of the Mississippi and the port of New Orleans.'

Some of these were perhaps native Africans, all doubtless knew very well where they were going, and had they no joy in liberty, no gratitude, nor hope, nor human love? Heard they never by day, nor dreamed by night, of the golden-rivered land of the plantain? Or felt they less keenly than we should feel, the common desire of our race, to breathe away lingering life in the vales of our infancy, and to slumber in death with the bones of buried ancestors around us? Not such was the opinion of Mungo Park. 'The poor negro,' said he, 'feels this desire in its full force. No water is sweet to him, but what is drawn from his own well: and no tree has so cool and pleasant a shade, as the tabba-tree of his own hamlet. When *war* compels him to leave the delightful spot where he first drew breath, and to seek safety in some other kingdom, the time is spent in talking of the country of his ancestors; and no sooner is peace restored, than he turns his back on the land of

strangers, hastens to rebuild his fallen walls, and exults to see the smoke ascend from his native village.'*

And who can enjoy, more than the philanthropists of the West and South, this sweetest happiness of giving happiness to others? Who can tell better than they, what freedom is, and what the soul's yearning may be over the loss of that holy boon? God speed them in this god-like enterprise. God speed them to make a freeman of the slave and a citizen of the freeman, and to send him back to the shores of his own radiant and verdurous land. The skies shall smile upon them, and the soil shall be sacred soil. There let them lay the foundations of an empire, in silence and in peace. Ages hence, it may still stand, a light-house to the gloom of that desolate continent, and a monument of praise to this, immortal and beautiful as the stars. Even then, though their own proud Republic should live but in history, it may still be at least an asylum, where he that has wandered and wept from his childhood, shall again exult in the smoke of his village, and again

> ——— 'Shall drink at noon
> The palm's rich nectar, and lie down at eve
> In the green pastures of remembered days,
> And walk,—to wander and to weep no more,—
> On Congo's mountain-coast or Gambia's golden shore.'

Art. VIII.—*English Literature of the Nineteenth Century. American Library of Useful Knowledge.*—Vols. II. III. IV. Boston. 1832.

In any general survey of letters, the eye is arrested by certain points or epochs, at which some revolution seems to have been consummated, that wholly changes the face of things, and imparts a new character to the succeeding period, which it retains until again effaced by some similar convulsion. Such revolutions are of rarest occurrence, and most gradual development, in nations least distinguished by sensibility or imagination. Thus the Latin literature experienced scarcely any other modification, than the regular transition from primitive rudeness to its augustan polish, and thence by natural lapses to the different stages of decrepitude and decay. Nations, on

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* Park's Travels in Africa.

the other hand, of more mercurial temper or deeper sensibility, reflect in their productions the shifting spirit of the times, with a facility and abruptness, that make the most important transition frequently appear to be the result of some temporary or fortuitous impulse, and not of a train of circumstances, dependent on each other and remote in their origin. This is the case with Italian literature, and in a less degree with the English. The former may be distributed into cycles of not more than fifty years' duration each, distinguished from each other by very decided peculiarities; and is frequently grouped by historians into centuries. The English, in the last two centuries and a half, during which it has maintained its healthful constitution unimpaired, readily supplies us with several of these epochs, the most conspicuous of which are the ages of Elizabeth and Anne, and the present century. We shall endeavor, in the present article, to seize some of the characteristic features of elegant literature in the latter period, although the subject, like the idea in Wouter Van Twiller's cranium, may seem somewhat too capacious for our contracted limits. As a preliminary step, it will be necessary to take a brief review of the ground occupied by the writers of the preceding century.

The whole, or at least by far the greater part of that period, bore the impression which had been stamped upon it by the wits of the age of Queen Anne. Nothing could be more strongly contrasted, than the character of this latter school and that of the writers of the Elizabethan age. The revolution effected under the former, although imputed, and doubtless to a certain extent with justice, to foreign influence, seems to have been conformable to the regular course of things. It was natural that, as the nation advanced in literary civilization, it should become sensible to the numerous blemishes, the puerilities, meretricious conceits, vulgarities, and manifold violations of decorum, that disfigure the productions of inexperienced and comparatively uninstructed writers; and that, in its anxiety to discard these besetting sins, it should lose much of the free and fearless expression which accompanied them, in the same manner as the conventional breeding of polished society effaces all the eccentric peculiarities of the individual, or at least interdicts the exhibition of them. Taste became paramount to every other consideration. The rules, although professing to be founded on nature, were consulted instead of her. They were more studiously consulted by the writers of that day, from the perpetual

danger of relapsing into the sins of the old school, to which long habit so naturally inclined them. A character of timidity, sobriety, an artificial and somewhat monotonous elegance, was thus gradually substituted for the bold, irregular, but spontaneous movements of the age of Shakspeare.

We will not revive for the thousandth time the verbal discussion, whether Pope, the Coryphæus of the new school, and whose genius, far more than any other, contributed to naturalize the exotic beauties of the French, was or was not a poet. If sensibility, fancy, wit, an uncorrupted taste, and an exquisite ear for verbal melody, make a poet, he was one indisputably. But his poetry, however, was not that either of sensibility or fancy; with the exception of the Rape of the Lock, and two or three other subordinate pieces, it was devoted to philosophy, criticism, and satire. These were its aim, while the stores of fancy and feeling were rifled only for subsidiary illustration. He was the poet of wit, of reason, of man, at least of man as far as he is the subject of philosophical analysis; and his poetry had far greater influence on his age, than if it had been what some consider the higher sort, like that of Milton, for example. Pope's track was on the earth, while Milton's was in the upper air, where none might venture, who did not like him inherit

> 'The pride and ample pinion
> Which the Theban eagle bare.'

Pope's poetry, and indeed it holds true of most of what may be called the poetry of common sense, was addressed to the reason, which, as far as is essential for this purpose, is found to be much more equally distributed among men, than sensibility or imagination. Writers like Milton and Dante strike a key, which, far from being felt equally in every bosom, is by some, even men of undoubted genius, not responded to at all. Witness Dr. Johnson's criticism on the latter poet's Lycidas, for example. Hence the practical influence of such writers in their art has been comparatively small. Their full influence, moreover, is not felt till long after they have passed away. No one generation furnishes kindred spirits of sufficient number and authority to settle their relative rank, which is at length determined by the gradually accumulated criticism of posterity.

The personal situation of the writers of Queen Anne's day was such, as greatly enforced the authority of their literary opinions. Many of them, as Dorset, Montagu, Somers, Bolingbroke, were among the brightest ornaments of the peerage, while

pensions, and political and church preferment were lavished on every literary aspirant of celebrity, without much reference to principle or party, from Swift and Addison to wicked Mat. Prior and pastoral Phillips. The correspondence of the *litterateurs* of that day shows abundantly enough the terms of familiarity on which they stood with persons of the highest rank. Swift's journal was filled with little else than his feasts, and his rides, and his closetings with Harley and Bolingbroke. Pope's Essays, particularly those written towards the close of his life, are dedicated to persons of quality, some of whom had little else to boast of than their titles. Congreve gave a still greater proof of his veneration for the great, by throwing away ten thousand pounds on the Dutchess of Marlborough, and leaving his poor relations to starve. This devotion to rank was repaid by personal intimacy and more substantial patronage. The consequence of this was a degree of fashionable *éclat*, which authors had rarely before enjoyed; while their writings became impregnated with the spirit of modish society, which, however fatal to enthusiasm, sublimity, or powerful emotion of any sort, is extremely propitious to shrewd social observation, polished raillery, classical correctness, and all the minor elegances of expression.

A glance at the criticism of Temple, Shaftsbury, Rymer, 'the best critic of his day,' according to Pope, will shew into what a deep shade the Elizabethan writers had been thrown, amid the general splendor of William III, and Queen Anne's reign. A striking proof of this is afforded by the well known fact, that Rowe could successfully impose as his own on the public, for more than half a century, a *rifacimento* of one of Massinger's most delightful pieces, and that of all Shakspeare's plays, not more than half a dozen kept the stage, and some of these mainly by dint of being *improved* by a metamorphosis into operas, garnished with suitable scenes, flyings for witches, singing, and dances, as was the case with Macbeth and the Tempest. While Shakspeare was thus dishonored, so artificial had the popular taste become, that Addison's Cato was welcomed with a greater number of representations, than had probably ever been vouchsafed to a British play before; a tragedy, which, whatever merit it may possess, notwithstanding Pope's deprecation of 'French translation' and his panegyric on 'native rage,' is as completely *un-english* in its whole conception and conduct, as Aaron Hill's Merope, or Alzire, or any other avowed translation from the French theatre.

The Hanover accession brought with it a new influence, though not of a character sufficiently strong to warp the direction already given to letters. More liberal principles were introduced into politics, and religious toleration, which had been menaced more than once under the preceding reign, was placed on a surer basis. The periodical press, including newspapers as well as essays, both of which obtained extensive currency before the conclusion of the seventeenth century, now exhibited a degree of freedom, or rather licence, that provoked the animadversion of the Whigs themselves. The inferior classes of society also now rose gradually in the scale, and attained a degree of independence and personal consideration, that made them an interesting subject of study. The romance of real life was introduced, and Fielding, Richardson, Smollett, threw off their spirited sketches of character, taken chiefly from situations in middle and lower life. The munificent and courtly patronage, however, which had shone out with such warmth under Queen Anne, became cold under her successors. Walpole's politics cost him too much to leave any thing for letters. He was, besides, so little tinctured with them, as to be ignorant of the French language. His master, George I., was equally ignorant of English; and it is well known, that the correspondence between the king and his minister was obliged to be carried on in mongrel Latin. English literature, therefore, had little to expect from the new dynasty. It was not much better under George II., who, when Hogarth presented him with a proof copy of his March to Finchley, which the artist esteemed his masterpiece, requesting leave to dedicate it to his majesty, exclaimed, 'What! a painter burlesque a soldier; the fellow deserves to be picketed for his insolence!' The well-known exclamation of the *great* duke of Cumberland to Gibbon, is equally indicative of the refinement of the reigning family. 'What, Mr. Gibbon, scribble, scribble, scribble still!'

Never was the position of a man of letters in England less enviable, than at the middle of the eighteenth century. His biography was made up of the vexations and whimsical distresses, which too often beset the path of the scholar, ignorant of life, and improvident as it were by nature, whose lot is cast in a society, which takes too little interest in literary achievements, however brilliant, to keep their author from starving. Hogarth's familiar sketch of the Distressed Poet was no caricature of the times. The drama had ceased to open a road

to emolument or reputation, as in Elizabeth's day, for people turned away in disgust from the abortive imitations of the French school, whose best models could never have satisfied the claims of a British public. The splendid aristocratic patronage of Queen Anne's time had faded away; and that extensive reading public was not yet created, which in our day confers that species of gratuity, most honorable and far most welcome to the author, as exempting him from the onerous obligations of individual patronage.

During the first half of George III's reign, a bright illumination was shed over English literature by a body of wits, who, had they possessed sufficient independence to abandon themselves to the movements of nature, might possibly have eclipsed the glories of the preceding period. Johnson furnishes perhaps the best key to the literary character of the time. He was the aristarch of his age. No despot ever ruled with more lordly sway the courts of criticism, though none in the province of ornamental literature had less real pretension. He was strangely insensible to the beauties of sentiment, as well as those of external nature; for which last, indeed, his physical defects furnish an apology. He was equally destitute of imagination and taste, as is shown by his habitually cumbrous and pedantic style, and by the perversity of his criticisms on some of the higher specimens of English poetry. His stiff reverence for authority and his Tory prejudices, equally intolerant and illiberal, made him high gravel blind, to borrow Launcelot Gobbo's phrase, not merely on political or religious topics, but on the most abstract questions of literature. Our remarks, we think, can scarcely be perverted into any disparagement of Johnson's acknowledged abilities, or the immense services which he has rendered to the cause of science and virtue. We have intended to confine them exclusively to his poetical talent, and his principles of criticism as applied to elegant literature. These principles, established on the authority of the preceding age, had great weight, no doubt, in discouraging the efforts of more delicate spirits, who give sufficient evidence that their genius, unrebuked, would have flowed in the ancient channels of nature and English feeling.

The sluggish calm in which the minds of men seemed to repose during the greater part of the eighteenth century, was at length dispelled by one of those tempests, which are occasionally sent to clear the moral atmosphere, and renovate the

face of society. We allude to the American Revolution, an event of similar importance in the political, with the Reformation in the religious world, and which opened that contest between the principles of freedom and arbitrary power, that still continues, and is probably to form the history of the present century. The French Revolution soon followed, and the lively concussion given to men's minds, not only in the immediate theatre of operation, but in the contiguous countries, especially Great Britain, was visible in the most important consequences. Men pushed their inquiries with reckless hardihood into the regions of science and speculation. Deep-rooted prejudices were torn up. Systems, which had been piled up by the diligence of ages, were brought to the ground, as it were, in a moment. The ancient schemes of education began now to be assailed, and more popular ones devised. It came to be understood, that knowledge was not intended for a few initiated alone, but for the mass of mankind. Utility was the avowed principle of action, and the sciences, especially those susceptible of most familiar practical application, were diligently cultivated. In the improved civilization of the lower ranks, a wide market was opened for literary products, and such substantial encouragement afforded, as brought the highest talent into the field of competition. The popular tribunal, thus erected, decided less on any principles of factitious taste, than on natural sentiment. Human character was required to be more justly delineated, human feelings to be more deeply sounded. The cold precepts of the preceding age were trampled down under the spontaneous movements of passion. The extraordinary character of passing events seemed to beget, indeed, an inordinate passion for novelty and excitement. Instead of the tameness of ordinary life, the poet carried his reader back to the stirring days of chivalry and romance, animating his verse with thrilling patriotic recollections, or agitating the depths of the soul with wild emotion. Indeed, the disjointed character of the times led to the most conflicting results; the cynical sneer of infidelity, and the steady assurance of religious trust. And one may recognize the influence of the present revolutionary age, no less in the devout poetry of Wordsworth, as any one who has read the Excursion will readily admit, than in the skepticism of Byron's.

But without dwelling longer on the general characteristics

of the literature of the present age, it may be well to examine the several varieties which have been brought into most successful cultivation; and perhaps the most effectual mode of doing this will be by a brief survey of the writers, who have impressed them with their peculiar genius.

It is unnecessary to expatiate on the merits of Cowper, the morning star of our modern poetry, which shed a tranquil light over the stormy period that closed the eighteenth century. We shall probably not err in selecting Scott, Wordsworth and Byron, as the most fitting representatives of contemporary poetry, on account of their positive rank, or their success in the introduction of their respective systems. Some others, especially Crabbe, might be adduced as instinct with the spirit of the age, but none will be found on the whole so decidedly to have stamped, in a greater or less degree, their own features upon it.

Scott's verse is a prolific shoot from the ancient and long-neglected stock of English minstrelsy, which Percy attempted to bring into favorable notice about the middle of the last century. The attempt was stifled in its birth by Dr. Johnson, who found nothing attractive in the artlessness of the old ballad, and who, by a ridiculous parody on the style, succeeded, according to his admiring biographer, in rendering 'Bishop Percy contemptible.' It indeed brought some contempt on his performance, for, although nothing is so easy to make as a sneer, nothing is more difficult to answer. But, although the seed fell on stony ground in that day, it found soil in which to take deep root in our own. 'I well remember,' says Scott, in his agreeable auto-biography, 'the tree under which I lay when I first entered on the enchanting perusal of Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry.' With a congenial antiquarian spirit, he compiled the remains and imitations of Border minstrelsy, and sent them into the world, in order to ascertain the direction of the popular current. Finding that it set in his favor, he speedily launched forth his more formidable epics, which were drawn from similar sources, as the ballads of primitive English feeling and feudal exploit.

All who lived in that day will recollect the enthusiasm with which the public, wearied out with the monotonous commonplaces of later times, welcomed these delightful works, whose pages glowed with such vivid portraiture of character as had not been seen since the time of Shakspeare, or indeed in the narrative form, since that of Chaucer, while fancy shed over

the whole the rich coloring of a romantic age, hitherto faintly seen through the dim veil of tradition.

> 'The *first* of all the bards was he,
> That sung of Border chivalry.'

The dialect adopted by Scott was in extremely good taste; not so obsolete as to require a glossary, like Chatterton's, and thus to give his pieces the fantastic appearance of a modern antique, but just antiquated enough to throw over them a picturesque costume, in perfect keeping with the age. The octosyllabic measure, borrowed from the old ballad, moreover, was admirably suited by its facile flexibility to the various, yet always simple, expression of his animated narrative, into which he seems to have transplanted all those natural wild flowers of poetry, which of late years had been left to linger unnoticed in the shade.

All this was manifestly in violation of the rules. The critics stared, shook their heads, and as Rochester somewhat irreverently observed of Cowley's poetry, 'that not being of God, it could not stand,' so they predicted that Scott's, 'not being of the rules,' could not. The poet, however, felt the strength of his hand, and so went on writing, while the public went on buying. More than thirty thousand copies of the first work, an amount altogether unprecedented, were readily disposed of, and succeeding efforts maintained the author's reputation. This blaze of popularity of course could not last long. The very peculiarities of the poet, at first so attractive, made him obnoxious to easy imitation, and the public became surfeited *ad nauseam* with spiritless copies of an original, whose mannerism, moreover, laid him open to ridiculous parody. The humblest mimic, by seizing on eccentricities of tone or gesture, may throw some degree of ridicule on his model, however exalted.

From these and some other causes, especially the increasing appetite for stimulating and passionate poetry, Scott's declined somewhat below the level, which in all probability it will hold with posterity; for no one surely at this time of day, who is sensible to the vigorous touches of character and nature which it exhibits, independently of its literary finish, can doubt, that it contains within itself the principle of immortality.

A poet, with little of the active and worldly temperament of Scott, appeared in Wordsworth, whose naturally grave and contemplative mood was nourished amid the romantic recesses

of his native hills. But although by his position standing aloof, as it were, from man, he had nothing in him foreign to humanity. His contemplative habits led him to scrutinize his species with a philosophic eye, and by levelling in his own mind the artificial distinctions of society, extended his sympathies to the humblest of his fellow-creatures. A holy calm is shed over his writings, whose general purpose seems to be to reconcile man with himself and his destiny, by furnishing him with a key to the mysteries of his present condition. Wordsworth's soul is instinct with such a pure love of nature, so much simplicity, or as the French call it, loyalty of purpose, that had he not entangled himself in an unlucky theory, he might have shared the popularity of Cowper, whom he must be admitted to surpass in the general elevation, as well as the benevolence of his sentiments. As it is, there are few who read, and fewer still who relish him.

It may not be amiss to notice in passing, some points of the theory on which Mr. Wordsworth's muse, has been shipwrecked. According to him, low rustic life affords the best subjects for poetry, because the elementary feelings and essential passions of our nature are least under restraint, and best developed in it; while its language, purified indeed from acknowledged vulgarities, is best suited to the poet, as more simple and unelaborated than any other. These in brief are nearly his own words.

Now whatever may be thought of the situations, the feelings growing out of those situations are quite as natural and fully developed by men in society, as in the retirement of rustic life. Even in this last, it is difficult to understand why the poet's eye should be closed on all but the humbler orders, and not find fitting subjects of contemplation in persons of superior mental culture, and it may be, moral sensibility. In regard to diction, Mr. Wordsworth's practice is by no means conformable to his theory. His language, so far from being that of rustic simplicity, is not to be compared in this respect with that of some other writers, as Burns, for example. Indeed, the elevated and frequently recondite character of his topics necessarily precludes this; while the perpetual struggle to accommodate himself to his theory frequently involves him in a dialect belonging neither to poetry nor common life, and which the intercalation now and then of a homely epithet or name, serves only, (we say it with all deference) to make supremely ridiculous.

In truth, expressions that may be natural in an early age, become affected in a later one. Wordsworth's writings show, moreover, that simple words do not necessarily constitute simplicity of expression; for there is scarcely any writer whose meaning is involved in greater mysticism, a circumstance apparently owing to his not accurately distinguishing between the results of his reason and his feelings.

The best proof of Wordsworth's failure is his want of popularity. The true tendency of his theory, is to level poetry to the comprehension and relish of the most untutored minds. Had he succeeded, he might have expected an almost unlimited currency,—the tavern-parlor popularity, which Cowper, and Burns, and Scott, *et tutti quanti*, are in possession of. Instead of this, the perusal of him is confined to the few, and those few the most cultivated persons, and not unfrequently of similar reserved tastes with his own. Perhaps, however, he may find some amends for the paucity of his admirers, in the sincerity of their admiration.

Mr. Wordsworth's poetical principles have been distorted into an apology for a sickly race of versifiers, branded as the cockney school, from the scene of their principal haunts, as well as the pert city air of their productions. These persons have aggravated Wordsworth's poetical defects into absolute vices, converting his homeliness into vulgarity, and his simplicity into the most infantine inanity. Indeed the chief characteristic of their manner may be found in what Scriblerus denominates the *infantine style;* 'wherein a poet grows so very simple, as to think and talk like a child.' Had they flourished in the time of this sagacious critic, their writings would have been invaluable to him, for the illustrations which they afford of every variety of the bathos. With these puerilities of style are combined a much more reprehensible laxity, or rather licentiousness of thought, on almost every topic. It would seem that the cheering warmth of popular patronage, which ripens so many of the nobler productions of nature, is apt to call into being also, swarms of pestilent insects, who defile for a season the hem of the muse's garment, but who, if some avenging Pope or Gifford do not arise to 'break them on the wheel,' are sure to be blown away sooner or later by the breath of public opinion.

The third great poet, whom we have selected as the representative of the times, is Byron, who may be considered to have struck into a more original path, even than either of his

predecessors. His poetry may be characterized, in one word, as the poetry of passion. His soul revels in scenes of perpetual excitement, and he startles his readers by turning up to their gaze the most hidden depths of his tumultuous spirit, or plunging them in the deepest glooms of misanthropy or skepticism, and anon soothing their troubled souls with the sweetest strains of tenderness and love.

Byron was a paradox in every thing. He was at once a cold-blooded satirist and a man of sentiment; an aristocrat and a radical; a Platonist and an Epicurean; the most sublime and the most sensual of mortals; 'half dust, half deity,' to borrow his own phrase; but the most barefaced paradox, was his ostentatious defence in prose of Pope's poetical system, which, in his poetry, he had been all his life endeavoring to subvert. The key to Byron's eccentricities is to be found in his total want of principle, and his uncontrollable passions. To the last is to be referred, moreover, much of what is grand and striking in his poetry. Many were led to charge him with affectation. The history of his life, however, which may be called passion put into action, shows how uniformly he sacrificed to his passions all his worldly interests and better hopes. His poetry gains somewhat in effect by our conviction of this, for sincerity is essential to the full success of the poet as of the orator; and, in this point of view, the exhibition of actual vice is less detrimental to his interest than the affectation of it.

Much stress has been laid on the mischievous tendency of Byron's philosophy. But, in truth, there is little in his writings to deserve that name. He had no principles to build on, and seems to have been incapable of forming any settled system, or even a systematic attack on any thing. He levelled his shafts pretty indiscriminately at whatever men prize most in this life, or look forward to with hope in the next. This sort of random aim was little better than shooting in the dark. The following sarcastic lines show the miscellaneous range of his hostilities.

> ——————'I do believe,
> *Though I have found them not*, that there may be
> Words which are things,—hopes which will not deceive,
> And virtues which are merciful, nor weave
> Snares for the failing; I would also deem,
> O'er other's griefs that some sincerely grieve;

That two, or one, are almost what they seem,—
That goodness is no name, and happiness no dream.'

Byron's poetry is much more to be dreaded, for the morbid appetite for stimulants which it has a tendency to nourish, especially in young minds, as well as for the light-hearted raillery with which it touches the most serious topics, and the seductive coloring which it too often throws over the grossest pleasures of the senses. He must have sat to himself for his portrait of Rousseau.

'Here the self-torturing sophist, wild Rousseau,
The apostle of affliction, he who threw
Enchantment over passion, and from woe
Wrung overwhelming eloquence, first drew
The breath which made him wretched; yet he knew
How to make madness beautiful, and cast
O'er erring deeds and thoughts, a heavenly hue
Of words, like sunbeams, dazzling as they past
The eyes, which o'er them shed tears feelingly and fast.'

Byron's poetry is eminently characteristic of the present age. It is essentially undramatic, and altogether repugnant to the social spirit of the age of Shakspeare. It is no less so to the placid tenor and perspicuity of Queen Anne's. It is purely egotistical, devoted in some form or other to self-analysis, the most melancholy, in its influence on the soul, of all occupations. It deals largely in abstruse speculations on moral or metaphysical theorems. It is written entirely for the closet, and pre-supposes a more deeply thinking and deeply read community, than has existed in any preceding period. His attempts in the drama have signally failed, and it may be doubted even, whether he could ever have established his present reputation in other walks, in any other than the present age, so mutually well adapted to each other were his own character and that of the times.

Some persons at this day, especially those wedded to the discipline of the preceding school of poetry, contest Byron's pretensions to high rank in his art. These critics are too much annoyed by his defects, by his hyperbolical passion, by the shadowy mists which hang over many of his fine thoughts, by the startling abruptions, and even dislocations of his periods, in short, by his perpetual lapses, in every way, from what they have been taught to venerate as classical decorum.

It is remarkable, that Mr. Gifford, whose poetical character was formed on the models of the last age, should have been among the first to detect the existence of the celestial spark in the young poet's breast, and confidently to predict his future triumphs; a prediction abundantly verified by the event, for there certainly has been no poet in our time, who, notwithstanding some discrepancy of judgment, has produced so general and deep a sensation. There is, probably, no poet in the language indeed, who has touched with a bolder hand the various chords of passion, who has shown more of the sadness of remorse, the bitterness of hatred, the deep tenderness of love, or any other expression of an agonized and overexcited sensibility; no one who has shed such enchanting colors over the shadowy past, or sketched with more delicate hand the features of the various races with whom he has mingled, or incorporated his own soul, as it were, with such grand and beautiful forms of nature. He is, indeed, emphatically the poet of passion. We must not omit his extraordinary mastery of our language, which he has made an instrument of greater compass, on the whole, than any writer since the time of Milton; not for the utterance of a monotonous melody, which depends chiefly on the accurate measurement of feet and syllables, and belongs rather to the eye than the ear, but that various harmony, which, adapting the expression, as far as possible, to the various movements of the spirit, can proceed only from thoughts that 'voluntary move harmonious numbers.'

Byron's poetical career proved uncommonly fascinating, especially to the young. There was something that struck the imagination, in the spectacle of one placed on the heights of fortune turning a cold eye on all those illusions of rank and reputation, which the world prize most dearly, and seeking relief for his wearied spirit in the wild solitudes of nature. In a similar vein, quantities of young gentlemen might be seen, who, as Prince Arthur says,

> ——————'Would be as sad as night
> From very wantonness;'

and minstrels *à la Byron*, a good deal more melancholy than musical, however, might be heard chirping their laments from every nook of town and country. The public at first extended its sympathy to these unfortunate bards, till it began at length to suspect that it was thrown away in being bestowed on per-

sons, who, surrounded by every luxury under heaven, could stretch themselves at ease in their elbow-chairs, with a kind of pre-determination to be miserable, and indite Spenserian stanzas on the vanities and nothingness of life. In short, this sort of whining was found much easier to write than to read. It consequently fell gradually into disrepute, as in bad taste, and has now, we believe, grown pretty much out of fashion.

During this season of general poetic fecundity, the drama has, on the whole, been less prolific of excellence than in any preceding age. Few of the great contemporary poets have ventured on this field at all, still fewer have reaped any laurels from it. Miss Baillie is, perhaps, the only writer who has made the attempt on an extended scale, and her pieces are rather addressed to the closet than the stage. She has unfortunately written on a theory; for every body works on a theory in this philosophic age. The principal purpose of her's, was to make each play subservient to the development of some one particular passion. In this way, she excluded herself from the legitimate range of character, which belongs to the drama; nor, indeed, was it possible, with any degree of skill, to adhere to her plan, since the *rôles* of the subordinate agents must often be at variance, and obviously require a different play of passion from that of the principal character.

Various causes have been suggested for the poverty of the drama in the present age. One, among others, is the perfection to which the histrionic art, together with the subsidiary accompaniments of costume and theatrical decoration, has been gradually raised, the effect of which is to divert the attention from the play to the player; while, in Shakspeare's day, the audience, pent up within the narrow limits of the little Globe or Blackfriars, with their straw-thatched boards and immovable scenery, went more to study the poet than the players.

The chief cause, however, of the depression of the drama, may be traced to the more extended cultivation and reading habits of the public, which led them to seek intellectual recreation by their own fire-sides, rather than in the heat and pestilent atmosphere of a crowded assembly. This augmentation of the number of readers, moreover, induced the author to turn such dramatic talent as he possessed into some other channel for its development, more in conformity than the theatre with the popular taste; as novel-writing, for example,

Whatever may be the reasons, however, there can be no doubt, that dramatic writing was never at a lower ebb in Great Britain, than at present. Indeed its revival, to any considerable extent, would seem to contradict all past experience in literature, which appears incapable of being stimulated by any industry to re-production, in a department which has once been successfully cultivated. And where did the drama ever before blossom into a more splendid harvest, than in England, under Elizabeth and James?

Poetry in our own country, during the present century, has felt a similar impulse with that communicated to it on the other side of the water. Indeed, nourished as we are, from similar sources, and subjected to a common discipline with English writers, our literature can only be a new variety of theirs. It may appear at first view, that poetic talent has been somewhat tardy in unfolding itself among us. But when did art or science ever first take root under a dependent colonial Government, as was ours till the latter part of the last century? Or, in a season of political agitation, which was our situation during the remainder of the age? They may, indeed, continue to flourish through such periods, from the impulse given at a preceding one. We do not mean, however, that the Muse was absolutely and invariably dumb during all this time, but she certainly never raised her voice to a lofty key, and by far the greater part of her productions is of that *mediocre* sort, which, in honest Dogberry's phrase, is 'very tolerable and altogether not to be endured.'

Since the establishment, however, of political independence and tranquillity, poetic talent has been developed among us in a considerable variety of beautiful forms, though in none of them, perhaps, on a very extended or elaborate scale. New-England has been hitherto the quarter of the country where it has been most successfully cultivated, whether owing to the severer character of the climate, or the more sedate and thoughtful temper of the people, or a more careful education than is to be found in other parts of the Union; circumstances which have all of them been found more or less favorable to the nurture of poetic sensibility.

The general complexion of this poetry is serious and contemplative, with a pretty uniform tinge of religious sentiment, austere sometimes and even gloomy, with many delicate touches of natural tenderness and a strong relish for the beauties of

external nature. It must be admitted to be somewhat deficient in masculine strength and invention, and might be relieved by a larger infusion of the sportive sallies of wit and fancy.

Bryant is, by very general consent, placed at the head of our poetic department. His writings are distinguished by those graces which belong to naturally fine perceptions and a chastised taste. A deep moral feeling, serious but not sad, tinctures most of his views of man and nature, and insensibly raises thought from the contemplation of these lower objects, to that of the Mind who formed them.

Bryant has proved, beyond any other writer, the fruitfulness of our country in poetic topics and illustrations. This is indeed the proper theatre for the American artist, the only one on which he can aspire to the praise of originality. Our inferiority to the old world, England, for example, in poetic material, has been often insisted on. It is true we have none of the stirring associations belonging to an illustrious body of ancient annals, and our soil is not strewed with the lingering monuments of architecture, beautiful though in ruins, which connect the present race with the age of feudal heroism; but then we have nature unfolded around us under a new aspect, and one every way as grand and as lovely as any in the old world; and we have man also, as exhibited under the influence of new institutions, and those better suited to the free expansion of his intellectual and moral faculties, than any hitherto known. If all this be not sufficient to warm the poet's visions, the fault must lie with him.

From poets we naturally pass to criticism, which, in the present age, has experienced a modification, that may be almost reckoned an invention. The old-fashioned periodical essays, the legitimate progeny of the Tattler and Spectator, had been gradually supplanted, after a run of nearly a century, by critical journals, devoted to the analysis of modern publications, but on the most frigid and spiritless principle, unenlivened by a single spark of philosophy or liberal speculation. In order to supply these manifold defects, an association was formed in Edinburgh, in the year 1805, by a number of gentlemen, among whom were Messrs. Jeffrey, Brougham, Smith, and some others, whose names, then just rising into notoriety, have since shed so bright an illumination over the various walks of politics and letters. This, as is well known, was the origin of the celebrated Edinburgh Review. The entirely novel prin-

ciple on which the work was conducted, made the experiment a bold one. The public scarcely knew what to think of reviews, that seemed to have as little relation to the work reviewed, as Mr. Bayes's tragedy to his prologue, 'which might stand for any other play as well as his.' They stood aghast, moreover, at the intrepidity with which the new adventurers, fighting under their sanguinary motto, *judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*, waged indiscriminate hostility, not merely against the smaller craft that infest the seas of literature, but those of the heaviest metal.

There was some lack of closet erudition in the confederacy, but this was more than compensated by knowledge of the world, a surprising tact as to the management of their resources, and a happy confidence, which converted the reviewer into a sort of Dr. Pancrace, 'homme de suffisance, homme de capacité, homme consommé dans toutes les sciences naturelles, morales, et politiques; homme savant, savantissime per omnes modos et casus, &c. &c.' The public in short was fairly taken by surprise. The journal spread at once into an unprecedented circulation, and men seemed willing for a time to resign their judgments, even their old established prejudices, to these invisible self-constituted aristarchs.

In the mean time, the tories of the south saw with dismay this powerful engine in the hands of their adversaries, scattering doctrines savoring of little less than heresy in their estimation, whether in politics, religion, or letters. They accordingly provided an antidote in the London Quarterly, for the purpose of neutralizing the revolutionary principles of the whigs, both in politics and religion; understanding by the latter term, much the same with parson Thwackum, when he says, 'by religion I mean the Christian religion, and not only the Christian religion, but the Protestant religion, and not only the Protestant religion, but the church of England.' The conduct of the war was intrusted to Mr. Gifford, a gentleman of indisputable erudition, and who, if less vivacious and less cunning of fence than his northern rival, had given sufficient proofs of his powers of flagellation, on the backs of the luckless Della Cruscans.

Between these opposite forces, collision soon occurred on all topics of general interest or importance, and the public, bewildered with the conflicting pretensions to infallibility, seemed now, for the first time, to comprehend that there might be two

sides to every question. The deference to the primitive journal of course gradually subsided, and this decline of favor was accelerated by the evidence which every day unfolded of the inaccuracy of its predictions, not merely in the doubtful element of politics, but in literature, where more than one individual, whom the northern critics would have stifled at his birth, subsequently rose to a gigantic height, which entirely overshadowed their own comparatively puny dimensions. Witness, for example, Byron, Wordsworth, Madame de Staël, and the like, whose genius might well have been chilled by the early criticism they experienced, if genius like theirs could be chilled by criticism, or, as Byron somewhere expresses it, if

> 'The sublime etherial particle
> Could be extinguished by an article.'

These egregious blunders occasioned no slight distrust of the capacity of the critics, while the spirit of faction, which swayed the opinions, more or less, of both journals, brought equal discredit on their integrity ; and thus the despotic authority, which in their corporate capacity and incognito condition they at first assumed over public sentiment, and which might have been perpetuated much longer by a discreet management, fell to the ground, or at least faded away into that degree of influence, which fairly attaches to a clever writer, according to the more or less skilful execution of his work.

What, on the whole, has been the tendency and influence of periodical writing in Great Britain, is a question too prolific of discussion for us to take up here. It may be generally affirmed of the two leading reviews, that they have shown the usual ductility which naturally belongs to such as depend on popular favor for their support, and that they have consequently more frequently followed than guided public opinion. It is also true, that the appetite for the short-lived notoriety, which is all that any article in a periodical work can promise itself, has stimulated the writer to aim too much at striking points, to say what is new, rather than what is true; and has more than once encouraged a flippant temerity of criticism, which proves its author to be utterly incapable of raising himself to the level of the work he depreciates.

With every defect, however, necessarily incident to so miscellaneous a concoction, both one and the other review may

claim the credit of being the depositories of much valuable speculation on subjects of greatest interest and moment. The Edinburgh, notwithstanding the imputation, sometimes merited, of levity of manner, and indeed laxity of principle, has furnished many examples of a liberal philosophy in its disquisitions on government, and has discussed many questions of taste and general literature with singular ingenuity, eloquence, and richness of illustration. The Quarterly, with all its bigotry and dogmatism, has large claims on our consideration for the soundness of its erudition, and in particular the activity of its geographical researches, while the tone of literary criticism, although less dashing and presumptuous than its rival's, has been, on the whole, more conscientious and of a more uniformly healthful character.

It is singular that these two great journals, after having run along for so many years, the one as the supporter, the other as the constant impugner of administration, should have completely changed position. The position, not the principles, are changed, however, and the Quarterly still maintains the same resolute front as of yore, against revolutionary movement, reminding us of some gallant frigate, which, getting stranded in the action, still keeps her colors flying at mast-head, discharging her impotent guns at the enemy, one after another, with a spirit worthy of a better fate.

Review-writing, in the form we have been examining, has been pursued to a considerable extent in England, and to still greater in the modified form of magazines, whose existence indeed dates from a much earlier period. The most conspicuous of these, perhaps, is Blackwood's, a work whose bigotted toryism of principle presents a whimsical contrast with the dashing dandyism of its manner.

In our own country, we may be allowed to consider the introduction of reviews, on the whole, as salutary. As they have been hitherto conducted, they have served to invigorate the patriotic principle within our bosoms, and they have afforded a shelter, long demanded, against the blasts of foreign criticism, which swept too rudely over our young nurseries of literature. They have done some service to the State, also, by affording a gymnasium, as it were, in which the literary tyro might try the strength of his arm, before venturing into more serious conflict. Periodical writing may be considered as better suited to the intellectual condition of this country than of any country

in Europe, because, although up to a certain point there is a more diffused and equal civilization here, yet there does not exist, as there, the depth of scholarship which leads men to take an interest in more laborious and erudite researches. One thing may be observed in commendation of the course pursued by our periodicals, that it has generally, we may say indeed uniformly, been decorous and dignified, unstained by the vulgar party squabbles and brutal personalities, that disfigure the best of those in the mother country.

Our literature furnishes some agreeable specimens of magazine and the other subordinate varieties of periodical writing, which seem less intended for a didactic purpose, than as the mere *jouissances* of fancy. But our society as yet hardly affords material for any great success in this way.

The Newspaper opens another most prolific chapter in the literary history of our time. No machinery can be put in competition with this for importance, in the existing state of society. It may be said to have done for mind, what the invention of rail-roads has done for body, by opening a rapid communication between the most distant points, so that thought has been made to travel, or rather to flash like an electric spark, from one extremity of this vast community to the other. It is above all important in a Republic, and especially one of the immense territorial extent of ours, where the ready transmission of knowledge connected with public affairs, so essential to every individual, is greatly impeded by local distance. The free States of antiquity were so circumscribed in extent, that every citizen, that is, every one who took part in the conduct of affairs, could be brought at once within reach of the orator's voice; and something like a similar result may be said to have been effected in our extended community, by means of the gossamer machinery of the press.

At the present moment, there are probably three times as many newspapers published in this country as there are in Great Britain, and more than in all the States of Christendom united. Many, who have assumed the duties of editorship, are doubtless incompetent to it, and do a sensible mischief by inundating the public with crude and intemperate opinions. But these contradictory crudities serve in some degree to neutralize each other; and perhaps the advantage gained by the more active circulation of facts may be thought, in our practical common-sense community, to more than counterbalance any

mischief resulting from opinions. It were much to be desired, however, that public patronage were sufficient to enable the editors of our newspapers to command the same extent of talent and accomplishment, with that which is put in requisition by the principal journalists of Europe.

The greatest evil resulting from the swarm of newspapers in this country, is the jeopardy to which, from the personal necessities of many of the editors, it exposes the independence of the press. The control of so potent an engine becomes a matter of such consequence in a government like ours, that a corrupt administration will hardly calculate the cost, by which to obtain possession of it. But the independence of the press is so vital a principle in a Republic, that when once it has been impaired to any considerable extent, the first blow to public liberty has been given.

Another class of composition, worthy of distinct notice, is the modern novel, which has assumed so imposing a form in our time, that it may be taken as the significant feature of the literature of the age, in the same manner as the drama was of that of Queen Elizabeth. Indeed the novel of character is only a development of the drama in a more expanded form. In its prose dress, it is better suited to the practical, business-like spirit of the times, than in its poetical. Its length is far more favorable to an accurate and philosophic analysis of character, while, in this shape, it is accommodated to those habits of reading, which, as we have before noticed, belong to our age, as much as the professed drama was suited to the love of spectacle, which characterizes the earlier stages of a nation.

Moral portraiture, or the delineation of character, has been a favorite study with the English from the time of Shakspeare. They have enjoyed facilities for this study in consequence of the freedom of their institutions, which has permitted the unchecked development of the natural disposition, in all its vigor and eccentricity. They have had no inquisition, no *lettre de cachet*, no courtly etiquette, to control the freedom of their natural movements; and, as a familiarity with the naked models of manly beauty carried the Greek sculptor to the highest excellence, so the free exhibition of character furnished models for the dramatist, which have enabled him to reach a similar perfection in his art.

The practical matter-of-fact habits of the English have led them, moreover, both in philosophy and in fiction, to prefer

correct views of human nature, to those ideal ones suggested by the exalted imaginations of the South. Hence, they have been led to *approfondir* (to borrow the French phrase) the human character, beyond any other people. Another remark that may be made is, that the English have generally felt too little respect for the rules, or in other words, too little solicitude for mere external form, to sacrifice to it in any degree the main purpose of characterization, as is constantly done in France and Italy, where the chief object seems to be to produce a fine work of art, rather than a just transcript of nature. The English have scarcely any other regard for plot or intrigue, than as it affords fine points of view for the display of character; as Mr. Bayes says, 'What the deuce is a plot good for, except to bring in fine things?' Keeping this one object, therefore, constantly in view, which has only formed a subordinate, or at least collateral one with other nations, the English have certainly exhibited a skilful and searching anatomy of man, such as we shall look for in vain in the literature of any other people.

There is no novelist of our time, whose works are more characteristic of it, than Miss Edgeworth's,—being all in one way or another directed to utility, that main-spring of the movements of the present age. The weighty moral with which they are loaded, indeed, frequently presses heavily on the light vehicle of fiction, giving it a coarse business air; while the perpetual accommodation of the intrigue to the moral often produces an appearance of violence in the piece, that impairs its value as a work of art. With these and other obvious defects as an artist, however, Miss Edgeworth may claim the rare praise of having perfectly succeeded in the great purpose which she proposed, of enlightening and improving the age, by imparting to it new ideas on the subject of education, taken in its most extended sense. Thus, by means of the deep interest attaching to her sagacious and vivid portraiture of character, she has wrought greater results with fiction, than could have been accomplished by the most profound philosophical treatise.

The Waverley novels effected an entire revolution in this branch of literature, both by enlarging the scope of its topics, and by a higher finish of execution. Scott's genius would seem, on the whole, even better suited for prose fiction than for poetry. It may be thought somewhat wanting in the ideal, for the highest excellence in the latter; it is social, worldly

even, never rising above the popular tone, or to speak more accurately, capability of feeling. In his own account of himself, we find him constantly estimating his success by his popularity. His rank as a poet he seems willing to rest on the sale of his poetry. These, however, sometimes happen to be in an inverse ratio to each other among contemporaries. We find him watching every shifting of the popular breeze, and ready to put himself on another tack, with the easy dexterity of an old navigator. We can hardly imagine him, like Wordsworth, steadily pursuing his own course in defiance of contemporary criticism, and looking with calm confidence (is it conceit?) on the final verdict of posterity.

Scott, like Shakspeare, concentrated in his own mind all the individual excellences of his craft. They are all, moreover, blended in such exquisite harmony together, that, as in some beautiful model of architecture, we are struck rather with the effect of the whole, than with the prominence of any particular part. We hear of Smollett's sea-pieces, Fielding's English humor, Richardson's domestic, Miss Burney's fashionable life, and the like, but never find Scott's Muse limited to this or that walk. On the contrary, she moves with equal freedom over them all, the throng and bustle of the city, as well as the solitudes of her native hills; taking in at a glance, not merely the glaring extremes of character and situation, but the thousand delicate gradations that lie between. Her eye, moreover, wandering beyond the limits of present existence, seeks for new subjects in the depths of time, and invests them with the appropriate costume, which may be said to convert the past into the present. All this implies a combination of antiquarian erudition and poetic invention in the same mind, altogether unprecedented, since they are so dissimilar in their natures, that one has generally been found to stifle the other.

Scott's style is as various and comprehensive as his subject. Fielding and Smollett have no great merit, except in direct narrative or dialogue. Miss Burney's style is intolerable out of dialogue. Miss Edgeworth would scarcely venture into the region of the picturesque, and Mrs. Radcliffe is good for nothing out of it, except, indeed, when she is in her horrors. But Scott's natural eloquence illumines with equal felicity every portion of his subject, throwing it into the lights most suitable to poetical effect.

Scott's greatest glory, however, arises from the superior dig-

nity to which he has raised the novel, not by its historic, but its moral character, so that, instead of being obliged, as with Fielding's and Smollett's, to devour it, like Sancho Panza's cheese-cakes, in a corner as it were, it is now made to furnish a pure and delectable repast for all the members of the assembled family. In all his multifarious fictions, we remember no line, which in a moral point of view he might wish to blot. Fortunate man, who, possessed of power sufficient to affect the moral destinies of his age, has possessed also the inclination to give that power a uniformly beneficent direction! Who beside him, amid the brilliant display of genius, or the wildest frolics of wit and fancy, has never been led to compromise for a moment the interests of virtue?

The splendid illumination thrown by Scott over the new path, naturally drew a throng of adventurers into it. Novels of fashionable life were followed by novels of low life, the froth and the dregs of society, which seemed through its whole extent to be literally turned inside out, by these character-mongers, for the inspection of the curious. Even the most solid unpromising topics were imposed on the novel, as being the most convenient vehicle for fact as well as fiction, and the public were deluged with romances of military life, of naval life, of travels in Turkey or Persia, or some out of the way country, whose distance might seem to settle it in the realms of imagination.

The tendency of all this to vitiate the palate, and indispose it to more healthful but less dainty diet, has been more insisted on, we imagine, than it deserves. Our readers will readily excuse us from a discussion far beyond our limits, and we will only remark, that the peculiar talents developed in novel-writing would probably, if this channel had not been opened, have been turned into some similar one best suited to their peculiar constitution. In this view, society would have gained little, for it will hardly be pretended that the novel is a more pernicious form for the exhibition of fancy or sentiment, than any other. It seems, therefore, to stand on the same ground with other varieties of merely ornamental literature, which are capable of being defended,—to assume the very lowest ground,—as an intellectual relaxation, whose abuse, not use, is to be condemned. As a vivid portraiture of character, arrayed in all the proprieties of historic costume, it assumes a much higher rank, scarcely inferior in its practical importance to that of history

itself; for, after all, what is history, but grouping together in masses what the novelist analyzes as individuals?

Our own countryman, Mr. Cooper, is admitted by very general consent to have distanced every other competitor in the route struck out by the author of Waverley. We would not be understood by this language, to imply any thing like a servile imitation, in the detracting spirit of some English journals; for Cooper is no more an imitator of Scott, than Milton is of Shakspeare, because they both wrote in blank verse, or than Scott himself is of this latter, whom he resembles in the *fond*, though not the form of his writings. If this be imitation, it is more glorious than most originality.

Cooper complains, in his 'Notions of the Americans,' that our country is deficient in the materials of society, most pertinent to the purposes of the novelist. This topic, like some others which we have run our heads against in the course of this article, is much too large for our limits, and we must refer the inquisitive reader to Mr. Cooper's own remarks. He seems to attest his conviction of their justice, by escaping as often as his plan will permit into the back-wood settlements, or still further into the wilderness, or, more than all, to his favorite element of the ocean. In flying thus from the social haunts of men to these regions, which lay as it were on the confines of fancy, the novelist, we suspect, has consulted his own capacity, quite as much as that of his subject. These are comparatively the regions of poetry, and any one whose eye has wandered over Mr. Cooper's pictures of them, will confess how deeply his soul is filled with the poetic feeling. This is particularly apparent in his representations of his own element, the ocean, which he seems, like Byron, to have animated with a living soul. Let any one who would feel the superiority of his manner, contrast it with the no less accurate, but comparatively vulgar sketches of another poet sailor, Smollett.

Cooper's great defect is his incapacity to seize the tone of good society; we say incapacity, for his repeated failures, we think, put it beyond a doubt. Nothing can be more lamentable than the compound of affectation, primness, and pedantry, a sort of back-woods gentility, which makes up with him the greater part of its dialogue and its manners. Defects like these would seem to be the natural result of an imperfect education, as well as a want of familiarity with well-bred society. But this last can scarcely be imputed to Mr. Cooper, and his experience

of late years must have abundantly enlarged the sphere of his social observation, for all practical purposes. Has he shown a corresponding improvement?

We must not omit, in a survey of the prose fiction of our age, our ingenious countryman, Mr. Irving, whose compositions may be regarded as the expression of the most cultivated and luxurious state of society; singular, indeed, that they should have emanated from the bosom of a plain, common-sense community, like our own. That they are addressed to such an Epicurean society, as we have adverted to, is evident, both from the seductive and somewhat effeminate character of their topics, and their brilliant literary finish. Far from being directed to the business principle of utility, they seem to be chiefly intended as a sort of intellectual *jouissance*, conveying the most attractive sentiment under the most attractive forms of expression. Constant appeal is made to the sensibility, whether by means of comedy or pathos, and, as if natural passion were not sufficiently stimulant, the comic is often carried into the grotesque, and the pathetic sometimes into the bathos of sentiment. We may remark, that Mr. Irving's disposition occasionally to overcharge his pictures, runs less risk with the comic than with the pathetic, since the caricature of the former is by no means so fatal to its effect, as that of the latter.

Mr. Irving may be regarded, both in relation to his subjects, especially when American, and his mode of treating them, as in every respect an original writer. With all this originality, however, he occasionally repeats himself, and becomes somewhat monotonous. Perhaps a conviction of the truth of this may have been an additional motive with him for abandoning, for a time, fiction for history.

Some churlish spirits have censured our amiable countryman, for employing his pencil too largely on English subjects, as if there were something like treason, or at least want of patriotism, in it. But surely there can be few sensations more interesting to an American possessed of genius and sensibility, than those excited by the contemplation of the land of his ancestors, thronged with so many glorious historic recollections, and embellished by all the arts of modern civilization. Nor is it easy to see, how he can disparage his own country by a manly homage to the virtues of another. The candor with which the English have recognized Mr. Irving's literary

merits is equally honorable to both parties, while his genius has experienced a still more unequivocal homage, in the countless imitations to which he has given rise; imitations, whose uniform failure, notwithstanding all the appliances of accomplishment and talent, proves their model to be inimitable.

History cannot fall within a survey of elegant literature, except so far as relates to its rhetorical execution. In this particular, some writers of the age, as Mitford and Turner, for example, have been so abominably perverse, that it would seem as if they were willing to try what degree of bad writing the public would tolerate, for the sake of the valuable matter it may contain. Others again, as Southey and Scott, blessed with a style at once perspicuous and picturesque, seem bent on counteracting these advantages, by a rapidity of composition, which sets at defiance every thing like arrangement, conciseness, or proportion. But as if no speed of an individual, however great, could keep pace with the public appetite, associations have been formed for the purpose of expediting the movements of the press, through all its thousand channels. Every thing now-a-days is done by association. The principle of concentrating a large mass on a given point, is found no less effective in civil than military matters, and an association is made the great lever by which most of the problems, whether in science or letters, are to be moved. Societies are organized for the diffusion of useful knowledge, of entertaining knowledge, and the like. The great object appears to be the civilization of the lower classes of society, up to the level, or near the level of the higher. It is found, that in proportion as government becomes more democratic in its form,—which is the regular progress of the age,—the necessity becomes stronger for rendering the people more intelligent. The failure of France, and the success of our own country, leave no room for skepticism on this head. Joint stock companies in literature are, therefore, instituted to enlighten the public by wholesale, as it were, and cyclopedias, libraries, magazines, and the like, pour forth in monthly, nay, weekly prodigality, from the indefatigable press, afforded at a price so low, as to secure them a place on every man's shelf. This, it must be admitted, as the worthy alderman said, is most excellent soup for the poor; quite good enough, indeed, much of it, for the most cultivated epicurean palate.

What the tendency of opening so many royal roads to

knowledge may be, is a formidable question. It doubtless must contribute largely to the intellectual advancement of the middling orders in England. But it is highly probable that it involves, to a certain extent, the sacrifice of the highest order of talent and erudition; for the most highly gifted minds are largely enlisted in these enterprises; and if writers like Mackintosh or Sismondi can obtain a larger premium and a more ready popularity for these comparatively superficial productions, they will scarcely waste their hours in hiving curious learning, or embodying it in the results of patient meditation. But although the cause of literature loses something in this way, the cause of society may be thought to gain more. If fewer great works are produced, there are likely to be more good ones, good enough for ordinary practical uses. Works like these, shot up in a day, must expect indeed to die with the day. But the present age may be the gainer, although posterity should be the loser.

We can hardly close these remarks without adverting to the present literary prospects of our country, although we have too much consideration for the reader, to do more than glance at them. At first view, these prospects might appear unpromising, for nothing would seem more repugnant to success in the lighter and more elegant productions of literature, than the engrossing business habits of our community. The attention might be naturally turned from them by the brilliant career opened to talent in public and professional life, by the seductions of commercial adventure, by the large encouragement given to those sciences, which have the most obvious application to social life. Then, the constant subdivision of property allows little scope for that munificent individual patronage, which fosters the liberal arts in other countries; while this subdivision, moreover, reduces the number of such as can afford leisure for their cultivation. And, lastly, the ready importation of the most elegant articles of literary luxury, of every variety and of the highest finish, from England, leaves little encouragement for domestic industry; while our most enterprising publishers can hardly be expected to advance liberal prices on doubtful native productions, when they can import those, whose popularity has been already ascertained, free of cost, from abroad.

But with all these discouraging circumstances, a much more comfortable augury may be gathered, both from the internal

consciousness of our own strength, and the results of past experience. Amidst every difficulty of situation, there is scarcely any path of active or contemplative life, in which we have not pushed our way, whether for purposes of profit or of pleasure, with more or less success. We are placed within the sphere of influences totally distinct from any in the old world, whether in relation to government, society, or the aspect of external nature. Some of these influences may be considered eminently favorable to intellectual action, and the bold and unchecked display of nature in all its eccentricity. Although a young people, moreover, we are furnished with an old and highly finished language, capable of conveying, in all its freshness, every variety of impression produced on us by the novelties of our situation.

With regard to the disastrous operation of foreign competition on our domestic industry, such are our natural buoyancy and enterprise, that it has hitherto been found to stimulate rather than depress it, in every department, whether physical or moral, to which it has been directed. Our popular patronage, too, though not on the same scale with that of the old world, has hitherto proved perfectly competent to the protection of works of real excellence. We may add, that our capacity for such productions in the highest kinds of ornamental literature, and in the collateral pursuit of the fine arts, opposed as they may seem to be to our habitual direction, is well illustrated by the fact, that we claim as our countrymen two of the most eminent writers of fiction of the present day, by the admission of the English themselves, Irving and Cooper, and three of the most distinguished artists, Allston, Leslie, and Newton.

We will only remark in conclusion, what cannot be repeated too often, that the American writer, if he would aspire to the credit of originality, must devote his days and nights to the study of the models around him. Not that he should relinquish the rich inheritance which English genius has bequeathed to him, in common with his brethren across the water. But, however enriched the mould may be by foreign culture, the product of his fancy should be no exotic, but spring from native seed, if it would come to healthy maturity. The English writer may copy from books with less harm than the American, because he has the original models of these books around him, by which to correct his copies. But an American drawing from the same sources will, at best, produce but a

second-hand imitation of nature. If he would be original, he must study the volume which nature herself has unrolled before him.

ART. IX.—*Habits of Insects.*

Insect Architecture. Insect Transformations. Insect Miscellanies. London. 1831.

We never have had the honor of an intimacy with our fellow-creatures of the insect race; and have occasionally found their personal attentions so troublesome, that we should have been willing to drop their acquaintance altogether. Since this may not be, and we must tolerate them, whether we like their company or not, we feel grateful to those, who by their patient and searching investigations, discover the habits and characters of these creatures, which, though they have much to reward attention, have but few attractions to invite it. We can understand the passion which leads such men as Audubon and Nuttall to encounter the evils of solitude, hardship, and privation, and to feel well rewarded by the discovery of a new bird or flower, better than the self-devotion of such men as Réaumur to the study of the insect race, the greater proportion of which seem like an unlovely rabble, having few claims upon the gratitude or affection of man. But our hasty impressions on this subject, as well as most others, would mislead us; for these philosophers have opened golden mines of discovery in this unpromising soil, and unfolded some of the most striking evidences of divine wisdom ever presented to man, in this part of the creation, on which many will not dare or deign to look. They have not labored, however, wholly without reward; for the curious facts, made known by Huber and many others, have awakened a general interest in the subject; it is now embraced within the demands of education; it is used also by friends to human improvement, to inspire a general thirst for knowledge, which, once inspired, easily directs itself to the channels in which it can move to most advantage. It is important to take care, that the popular demand for information shall be well supplied. There is some cause to apprehend, that popular works shall be manufactured for the booksellers, which, like the broth sometimes provided for the poor in cities in seasons of famine, shall answer the double purpose of satisfying their hunger for

the present, and removing all temptation they might have to apply again.

These works, however, are not of a description to strengthen these fears. They appear to have been prepared for the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, by the English naturalist, Mr. Rennie, whose reputation is generally known. His favorite maxim is, that Natural History must be studied, not in human abridgements and compilations, but in the great book of Nature. This plan of field-study requires, to be sure, more earnestness and diligence than every one possesses; it is not every one, either, who has leisure or advantages of situation for pursuing it; still he is doubtless right in saying, that the study of books is apt to be a study of *words* and not of *things*, and that a few facts, learned from personal observation, will inspire more interest and enthusiasm, than the study of books for years. His remarks probably are meant to point out the proper education for a naturalist,—for one who is to enter deeply into the subject; but the great majority of readers, while they do not wish to be wholly uninformed, must, from the necessity of the case, take the observations of others upon trust. They will easily persuade themselves to submit to this necessity, if all the authorities upon which they are compelled to rely, are as entertaining and instructive as the author of the works before us.

We observe that Mr. Rennie, like other entomologists, Linnæus among the rest, has thought it necessary to maintain the dignity of the study. There is no great necessity for filing this protest against the common feeling, which arises from ignorance, and disappears as fast as the means of making themselves acquainted with this subject have been offered to the world. There is something sufficiently comic in seeing a man holding forth, with the eloquence of Cicero, upon the wonders and beauties of an insect's wing; we are struck with the physical disproportion between the investigator and his subject; but we do not doubt, all the while, that he has found something fully worthy the attention of an enlightened mind; there are smiles which are perfectly consistent with respect, and playful satire with which no one needs feel insulted. There is no great malice in such ridicule as this, and it is rather forbearing than otherwise, when it is considered what language the enthusiasts in the science have sometimes used. One of the most distinguished among them was so lost in

rapture at contemplating the evolutions of a party of insects upon the wing, that they reminded him of nothing less than seraphs and sons of light, shining in the glories of their heavenly state; a comparison quite too lofty for the occasion, and one which the most ambitious insect would confess was quite beyond his pretensions. Apart from the disposition which men have to exalt their favorite pursuit, it is well known that the spirit of philosophical investigation, whether it directs itself to beast, bird, or flower, or, as is generally the case, includes them all, is one which is seldom found, except in enlightened and active minds. It affords to such minds a pursuit, in its lower stages harmless and happy, and in its higher efforts requiring intellectual exertion sufficient to recommend it to great men, as a field in which their powers may be worthily and religiously employed.

The advantage of supplying means of happiness to men is not generally understood; and yet, in ordinary circumstances, whatever makes men happier makes them better; a fact which has hitherto been strangely overlooked by moralists, but now begins to be regarded as one of the most important principles of moral reform by those who would root out prevailing vices, and supply men with those inducements and encouragements, without which they will do nothing even for their own welfare. Most men are driven to lawless pleasure by vacancy of mind,—by the torture of a mind, preying upon itself for want of foreign materials to act upon; and as learning has been regarded as quite beyond the common reach, none but minds highly cultivated, or very energetic by nature, have been able to find a sufficient number of worthy objects to engage them. Action is as important to the mind, as it was to eloquence in the opinion of the great master of the art; action the mind must have, right or wrong; it is well if it can find ways in which its activity may be exerted without running to waste or bringing injury to itself or others, and whoever points out such ways, not to the enlightened few only, but makes them so plain, that all the world can see them, deserves to be regarded as the greatest reformer of popular vices, because he destroys the root of the evil, while others have been laboring without success upon the branches, which spring again with new vigor, as fast as they are hewn away. Even when the mind is most inactive, an action, though not voluntary, is going on in it, which tends fast to its injury and corruption; its calm, like

that of the waters, if it endure for any length of time, becomes stagnation; and this is a danger to which men are the more exposed, because the mind never seems so rapt, so absorbed in meditation, as when it is thinking of nothing at all. Cowper has well described the solemn aspect of the dreamer, gazing upon the evening fire, looking as if he were deliberating upon the fate of nations, while nothing that deserves to be honored with the name of a thought, passes through his mind for hours together. So, too, in a solitary walk, which is generally supposed to be so favorable to thought, the mind gives itself up to reverie, without exerting itself to any good purpose. Now, if the naturalist can make men attentive and observant,—if he can make them note the construction and contrivances of insects, in which instinct seems sometimes to surpass intelligence in the skill and success of its operations,—if he can make them regard the beauty of the delicate flower, which they used to crush beneath their feet, or induce them to listen to the song and observe the plumage of the bird, which formerly, if not a 'good shot,' was nothing to them,—he will afford to them a never-failing source of enjoyment, and secure to his favorite sciences the benefit of many useful facts and observations.

Insects are now a formidable body, and were much more so in former times, when their habits and persons were less familiarly known. Men had not begun to ask whence they came, nor whither they were going; but they found them when they least desired their company, and there was a sort of mystery in their movements, which, more than any thing else, tends to inspire the feeling of dread. It was on this account that they were first distinguished by the name of *bug*, which, however it may have degenerated into a watchword of contempt at the present day, was formerly synonymous with ghost or spectre, and equally alarming. The passage of scripture from the Psalms, 'Thou shalt not nede to be afraide of any bug by night,' as it stood in Matthews's old English Bible, is probably known to our readers. Later translators have judiciously substituted a more general word in its stead. But even now, considering their power to destroy our peace, there is some reason to fear them, and were there nothing else formidable about them, their numbers are sufficiently alarming. When we hear their concert on a summer evening, it sounds as if every leaf and every blade of grass had found a voice; though, in fact, there is no voice in the matter. They deal

wholly in instrumental music; some have heard a voice-like sound proceeding from a moth occasionally, but their concert,—great nature's hum,—is produced by rubbing the hard shells of the wings against the trunk or together, which makes a sharp and shrill sound, that can be heard at a considerable distance. The hum of insects on the wing can be heard when the performer is invisible. We remember, that once standing in a summer day on the top of a high hill, we heard a sound as of a million bees directly over our head, when not an insect, which could be held responsible for any noise, was within our view. Such cases are not uncommon, and the only explanation is, that the authors of the sound are distant, and its loudness deceives us into the impression that it is nigh.

We will suggest some advantages of an acquaintance with this subject; we mean a general acquaintance, such as popular works are calculated to give. For example, the insect called the death-watch was formerly thought to sound an alarm of death to some inmate of the mansion where it was heard, though it would have required a perpetual cholera to have fulfilled half the number of his predictions. Now, it is known to proceed from a little wood-boring insect, whose skull is somewhat hard, and who uses it for the purpose of a signal to others. Standing on its hind legs, it beats regularly on the board a number of times,—a process, which, comparing its force with the size of the insect, one would think more likely to be fatal to itself than to those who hear it. The bug, so well known in connexion with 'rosy dreams and slumbers light,' when it was first imported into England, occasioned equal dismay,—an alarm not wholly superstitious and unreasonable, when we remember how often it has 'murdered the sleep' of the innocent as well as the guilty. If we may believe David Deans, the Scotch bewail its introduction among them as one of the evils of the Union, and for that reason distinguish it by the name of the English bug. The history of the Hessian fly, which made its appearance at the close of the American war, and which certain aged people, believing it to be a consequence of our separation from the British Government, named the Revolution fly, shows how much alarm and trouble ignorance of the character of a little insect may occasion. They first appeared in Staten Island, and spread rapidly, destroying the wheat upon their way. They passed the Delaware in clouds, and swarmed like the flies of Egypt, in every place where

their presence was unwelcome. The British, naturally disliking every thing that savored of revolution, were in great fear lest they should reach their island, and resolved to prevent it, if necessary, with all the power of their fleet. The privy council sat day after day; despatches were sent to all the foreign ministers; expresses were sent to the custom-houses to close the ports; Sir Joseph Banks, who held such matters in special charge,—as Swift said Mr. Flamstead was once appointed by Government to look after the stars,—was called upon to exert himself, with such importunity, that if such a thing were possible, he grew almost profane upon the occasion. He shouted across the ocean to Dr. Mitchell, while the Doctor stood wringing his hands upon the western shore. When he had collected all the information which could be furnished by scientific and practical men concerning the bug in question, amounting to more than two hundred octavo pages, he enlightened the Government with the information, that he did not know what the creature was; a report satisfactory as far as it went, no doubt, but which might, for aught that appears, have been reduced to somewhat smaller dimensions. If any one could have furnished a scientific description of the insect, it might have been probably arrested in its depredations, and if not, there would have been some consolation to men, could they have pointed it out to the indignation and scorn of the world.

Our cultivators can furnish illustrations enough of the evils of ignorance on this subject. The common locust, *robinia pseudacacia*, whose velvet leaf exceeds other foliage in beauty, as much as its wood exceeds that of other trees in value, is almost ruined in New-England by the larva of a moth, which is known to naturalists, but which no means have yet been able to destroy. We know that in plantations lately made, the ravages of the insect have been confined to their sunny borders; but we greatly fear, that in a year or two, they will carry their inroads into the heart of the groves. Certainly, the fine trees of this description which fringe the highways and surround the cottages, must be given up to this little pest, which, so far as we know at present, will only cease from its labors on condition of being cut in two. The cankerworm, too, is waging a war of extermination upon our fruit trees. After passing the winter in the ground,—would that it were its grave,—the insect makes over the tree to its heirs, which can only, with our present knowledge, be checked by means, that like curing

the head-ache by amputation, are too effectual for the end proposed. Pear orchards resemble the gardens of the French nobleman, mentioned by Madame de Staël, which were planted with dead trees in order to inspire contemplation; not knowing enough of the borer to be able to bring him to justice, the cultivator can only sigh over his more than lost labors. But for Dr. Franklin, it would have been more common than it is now, and the practice is by no means obsolete, for every family to supply itself with moschettoes by keeping large open vessels of water near their houses, as if for the special benefit of this insect, whose bark and bite are equally undesirable. The moschetto lays its eggs upon the water, where they are hatched into grubs, which float with their heads downward; when the time for their change is come, they break through their outer covering and draw themselves out standing upright, so that they appear like a vessel, the corslet being the boat, and the body officiating as mast and sail. Their former sea-change is now reversed; for, should their naval establishment overset, they are inevitably lost moschettoes. As soon as their wings are dried, they fly away to their work of blood. As six or seven generations are born in a summer, and each mother can furnish two hundred and fifty eggs, it is evident that a vessel of water, properly neglected, will people the air of a whole neighborhood. But there is no end to the list of evils, arising from ignorance on this subject. One of the choicest specimens of it we have ever heard, is that of gardeners in Germany, who collect and bury grubs in order to destroy them, a mode of destruction quite as fatal, as that of throwing fish into the water to drown them.

It would be easy to give some striking illustrations of the advantages of knowledge on this subject. The manner in which peach trees are secured from the depredations of the insect which every year destroys many, is familiarly known. The insect deposits its eggs in the bark of the tree, as nearly as possible to the surface of the ground. When it is obliged to resort to the branches, besides that it is more easily discovered by the gum which flows from the wound, the grub would generally be arrested by the cold before it could make its way to the root, where it retreats in winter. By ascertaining the time when these eggs are laid, and tying straw or matting round the trunk of the tree, its injuries are easily prevented. We are persuaded that the ravages of the clothes-moth, the creature to whom food and raiment are one, might be prevented by

exposing clothes to the light at the time of oviposition. When the timber was found to be perishing in the dock-yards of Sweden, the king applied to Linnæus to discover a remedy, thus acknowledging the dependence of commerce, national defence, and royal power, upon humble scientific researches. He ascertained the time when the insect deposited its eggs, and by sinking the timber in water at that period, the evil was effectually prevented.

We certainly receive many serious injuries at the hands of the insect race. But they are not wholly unprovoked; nor can it be denied, that if they torment us, we also torment them. It is to be hoped that the time will come, when we shall be able to deal with them as with larger animals, exterminating those which cannot be employed in the service of man. At present, however, their ingenuity, their perseverance, and their numbers, render it hopeless for man to make any general crusade against them. But we have little to complain of, compared with the inhabitants of warmer climates. Dr. Clarke tells us, that in the Crimea he found the moschettoes so venomous, that in spite of gloves, and every other defence, he was one entire wound. In a sultry night, he sought shelter in his carriage; they followed him there, and when he attempted to light a candle, they extinguished it by their numbers. In South America, there are countless varieties; some pursue their labors by day, and others by night; they form different strata in the air, and new detachments relieve guard as fast as the former are exhausted. Humboldt tells us, that near Rio Unare, the wretched inhabitants bury themselves in the sand, all excepting the head, in order to sleep; we should think that, in such a condition, they would be sorely tempted to make no exception. Even this is not so great an evil as the destruction made by the white ants among papers of all descriptions. The same authority mentions, that there are no documents of any antiquity spared by this destroyer; it invades the tenure of property, the duration of literature, the record of history, and all the means of existence and improvement, by which civil society is held together. It is melancholy enough to see gardens, fields, and forests sinking into dust; but we must confess that this last calamity quite exceeds all others.

Millions of insects infest our gardens. The plant-lice cover the leaves and draw out their juices, so that they wither and fall. The ants compel these aphides to give up to them what

they have plundered from the tree. These insects, the aphides, are so small, that they would seem to have no great power to do harm; still, as there are twenty generations in a year, 'the son can finish what his short-lived sire begun.' Our ornamental plants thus lose all their beauty; tortrices roll up their leaves; leaf-cutter bees shear out their patterns; and the mysterious rose-bugs pour in numbers faster than man can destroy them, in the proportion of ten to one. The honey-dew, which formerly occasioned so much speculation, concerning which Pliny could not say positively, whether it was the sweat of heaven or the saliva of the stars, is now known to be the secretion of an insect, instead of falling from the skies. If man had sense enough to prevent the destruction of birds, there might be less reason to complain that the labors of the garden are so often rewarded with no more substantial result than vanity and vexation.

The animals in our service suffer even more from insects than ourselves, and nothing effectual can be done to prevent it. After the horse has been irritated almost to madness by the fly, the *tabanus* (horse-fly) comes to bleed him, as if to prevent the effects of his passion. This service is rendered the horse sorely against his will; but he fears nothing so much as the horse-bee; the animal is violently agitated, when one of these is near him; if he be in the pasture, he gallops away to the water, where his persecutor dares not follow him. Every rider knows what a desperate enemy he has in the forest-fly, a creature difficult to kill, though it holds life in so light esteem, that it prefers death to quitting its hold. An insect similar to the horse-bee takes the ox under his special keeping, piercing him with an auger of very curious construction. But it is needless to mention particulars of this kind; it is enough to say, that there is no domestic beast or fowl which is not tormented by some kind of insect, and generally, more than one. The abodes of pigeons are always haunted by that ominous bug, which is such an enemy to the rest of man. But among these various injuries offered to man, and the animals under his protection,—to whom his protection in this instance does but little good,—there are some examples of forbearance on the part of insects which deserve to be mentioned, as equally gratifying and unexpected. The insect which lays its eggs in peas, deposits them, so that the grub may feed upon the pea after it ripens; the grub feeds accordingly, but shows such discretion in its operations as not to injure the germ, even when it eats

the pea to a shell. The caterpillars, also, which eat the leaves of the tree, spare the bud, so that its growth is not seriously injured. It may be well to mention with respect to the former insect, that its presence is not always seen in the peas which it inhabits, so that those who eat dried peas, which are not split, may be gratified to learn, that they secure a large proportion of animal, where they paid only for vegetable food.

It is not necessary to go out of the house to learn the injuries which insects inflict on man, who, if he be the lord of creation, has some refractory subjects, and some which utterly defy his power. A great proportion of these domestic inmates have no Christian names; whoever speaks of them, is obliged to resort to the learned nomenclature. Flour and meal are eaten by the grub of *tenebrio molitor;* he will not give us the trouble of making it into bread for him, though it is very acceptable to him after it has passed through the process of baking. The *acarus farinæ*, more moderate in his demands, is content to feed on old or damaged flour. The *dermestes paniceus* leads a seafaring life, solely for the luxury of feeding upon sea-biscuit; the more hearty grubs of *dermestes* and *tenebrio lardarius* can live upon no lighter food than dried meats and bacon. Fresh meat, however, is always in demand, not only by the flesh-fly, but the wasp and hornet; and all these have a sweet tooth, and make a practice of eating large quantities of sugar. Butter and lard are eaten by *crambus pinguinalis;* the cheese-maggot, so renowned for his unexampled powers of still-vaulting, lives upon new cheese; but the more epicurean *acarus siro* will not touch it till it is mouldy. The *musca cellaris* drinks our vinegar, while the *oinopota cellaris*, strong in the cause of temperance, rejects ardent spirits, and drinks nothing but wine.

There are some valetudinarian bugs, which consume large quantities of drugs and medicines, though, so far as we can learn, their custom is little in request by the apothecaries. The *sinodendrum pusillum* takes rhubarb; there is a kind of beetle which eats musk, and the white ants are well known to be in the bad habit of chewing opium. Some are fond of dress. The clothes-moth is so retired in its habits, that we know little concerning it, except that it eats our clothes in summer. The *tapetzella* feeds on the lining of carriages; the *pellionella* chooses furs, and shaves them clean; the *melonella* eats wax, and in seasons of scarcity submits to eat leather or paper. There are hundreds which live on wood; one of which, a

cerambyx, after eating through the wooden roof, forces his way through the lead. Some have a literary turn. The *crambus pinguinalis*, like some literary gentlemen, regards books only with an eye to the binding. Another, called the learned mite, *acarus eruditus*, eats the paste that fastens the paper over the edges of the binding. Another, whose name we have never learned, gets between the leaves and devours them; while the *anobium*, an industrious little beetle, determined to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the contents of the work, goes quietly from the beginning to the end. We are told that one of them, in a public library in France, went through twenty-seven volumes in a straight line, so that on passing a cord through, the whole were lifted at once. The beetle deserved credit for this remarkable exploit, being probably the only living creature who had ever gone through the book.

To those who resent these injuries, it may be consoling to know, that the means of ample vengeance are within their reach, and if they choose to follow the example of those who kill and eat insects, the insects will certainly have the worst of the war. The Arabs, as is well known, eat locusts with great relish, though for reasons not certainly founded upon the disparity of outward favor, they look with abhorrence upon crabs and lobsters. The Hottentots also delight to have locusts make their appearance, though they eat every green thing, calculating with some foresight, that as they shall eat the locusts, they shall not be losers in the long run. This people, who are far from fastidious in any of their habits, also eat ants boiled, raw, or roasted after the manner of coffee; and those who can overcome the force of prejudice, so far as to try the experiment, confess that they are extremely good eating. Kirby, the English naturalist, bears testimony to this effect. Smeathman says, 'I have eaten them dressed in this way, and think them delicate, nourishing, and wholesome; they are something sweeter, though not so cloying, as the maggot of the palm-tree snout beetle, which is served up at the tables of the West Indian epicures, particularly the French, as one of the greatest luxuries of the country.'* In parts of Europe, the

* A learned foreigner, with whom we lately conversed upon the subject, gave us the following account of his method of treating these insects. Whenever in his walks he meets with an ant-hill, he immediately approaches it with the end of his walking-stick. The ants come out in great numbers, some to reconnoitre, and some for the mere

grubs of some of the beetles are highly esteemed; the *cerambyx* is the delight of the blacks in the Islands; the inhabitants of New Caledonia are partial to spiders. *Equidem non invideo, miror magis.* It is highly probable, that a large proportion of insects were intended by Providence for food; and if we will not eat them, it is unreasonable to complain of their numbers.

Having said so much of the injuries occasioned by insects, lest we should excite too strong a prejudice against them, a prejudice which they have no personal attractions to balance or remove, it becomes a duty to mention some benefits, for which we are indebted to them. The list of these benefits is large already, and scientific research, aided by popular curiosity, will before many years extend it much beyond its present bounds. It will be a happy day for the insects, when their good qualities are known. The bee that sails with so much airy independence through our gardens, perfectly satisfied that they were planted for its benefit alone, would find little protection in its familiar manners and brilliant dress, were it not able to lay man under obligations. The silk-worm, which is now cherished with so much care, would be rejected with disgust, like other caterpillars of the garden, were it not able to pay for protection by its labor. Those that depend upon the charity of man, find but little quarter; it is in vain that Shakspeare assures us, that the pain of the trampled insect equals that of the suffering giant; in vain that Cowper implores us not needlessly to crush a worm: unless they can make it for man's interest to protect them, they have little forbearance to hope for; the man of science, therefore, who discovers and points out their uses, is certainly a friend to the bugs.

Generally speaking, insects do the duty of scavengers. In our climate, they are useful in this capacity; but their labors here are nothing, compared with their exploits in warmer countries, which, if they are uncomfortable with them, would be uninhabitable without them. Whenever a carcase falls in our climate, the insects move to it in air lines; beetles of all descriptions, wasps, hornets, and flies, lay aside all minor differences, and engage in the work of removing it. The flesh-fly deposits in it its grub, already hatched, that it may lose no time; and as this last named insect has a promising family,—

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pleasure of the excursion. When the stick is pretty well covered with them, he draws it through his lips and secures them all. He describes the taste as cool and sourish, not unlike that of the plant sorrel.

a single parent producing more than twenty thousand young, which eat so plentifully as to add two hundred fold to their weight in twenty-four hours,—the nuisance is soon abated. In warmer countries, this operation is carried on with miraculous expedition; before the air can be tainted by the savor of corruption, the flesh is removed, and nothing remains but the bones whitening in the sun. They do a still greater service to men in removing dead vegetable matter. They generally prefer animal food; but as they are not able to procure it oftener than an Irish peasant, they all, moschettoes among the rest, content themselves with vegetable substances. Great numbers of the flesh-fly are imposed upon by plants similar to the skunk cabbage; supposing, from their peculiar fragrance, that they are flesh in that particular state of decay, which epicures delight in, the insects deposit their eggs upon them, and when the young are hatched they discover the mistake, quite too late to repair it. Réaumur thinks that we are indebted to this fly, for making it a point of conscience not to eat the flesh of living animals;—he tried the experiment, and found that they unanimously refused to touch the flesh of a living pigeon. It is a pity, that naturalists should not learn humanity from so excellent an example.

It is not necessary to explain to our readers, that we are indebted to insects for silk and honey; the latter having been used from the earliest ages, and the former promising to be used as extensively in our country before many years. It is fully ascertained that our climate is favorable to the silk-worm, and to the plant on which it lives; and it is not the habit of our countrymen to neglect any opportunity of securing comfort or gain; on the contrary, they are more in need of learning from the insects their judicious habit of dividing labor; for the moment a channel of adventure is opened, they rush into it with a force which sometimes carries them far beyond the end proposed. Here is a constant disposition to bite the chains of nature; and as he who ascends a staircase in the dark, if when he has reached the top he attempts to go higher, meets with a painful sensation of disappointment, so do many of our countrymen injure themselves by attempting to draw from their chosen pursuit, more than nature ever intended it to give. There is no question, that the manufacture of silk will be greatly and rapidly extended; and the result will be not to increase luxury, but to change what is now a luxury into a necessary

of life. Time was, when stockings were a luxury; now they are worn by the beggars of our country. It is upon record, that a king borrowed a pair of silk stockings for a public occasion; here, they may be found in the possession of those, who, unlike the lilies of the field, both toil and spin.

We are indebted to insects for the ink-powder, an article important in all professions, but indispensable in ours. It is formed by a *cynips* on the *quercus infectoria*, a sort of shrub-oak which grows in Asia and Africa, whence the galls are constantly exported. The insect bores the bark and deposits an egg. It is generally thought to insert some corrosive fluid with it, which, as the sap flows out from the wound, gives its color and properties to the gall, that grows and swells round the egg for the young insect's future home. There is some difference of opinion as to this process. Mr. Rennie suggests, that the egg may be protected or coated with gluten, which prevents the escape of the sap; the sap, thus confined, pushes out the pellicle of gluten that covers it, till the opening is closed by being hardened in the air. This will account for the uniform size of these productions. The galls of the rose and willow are well known; the gall of commerce is as large as a marble. This furnishes a comfortable dwelling for the young insect, and a dye for those streams of ink which are perpetually flowing in the civilized world, for libel or literature, for evil or good. They are also used in dying; those which contain the insect being called blue gall-nuts, those which it has abandoned, white. An insect inhabitant of the oak, *coccus ilicis*, was formerly used in dying red. In modern times, cochineal, *coccus cacti*, is generally used. The Spaniards found it employed by the Americans, when they came over to this country. It was supposed to be a vegetable production, and it was not till a period comparatively late, discovered to be a living thing. It feeds on the nopal, a kind of fig-tree common in New Spain and some parts of India. The inhabitants preserve them in their houses through the rainy season, and when it is over place them upon the tree, which they soon cover. They are after a time brushed from the tree with the tail of a squirrel, and being killed either by artificial heat or exposure to the sun, the inside is found filled with the red dust, which forms this splendid color. So important is this article in commerce, that the East India Company offered a reward of six thousand pounds to any one who should succeed in naturalizing it in their territories. Another insect

of this description carries on a manufacture of unexampled extent and variety, being actually employed in supplying the demands of the world for shellac, beads, sealing-wax, lake, lacquer, and grindstones. The insect covers trees of the fig kind in Hindostan, in such a manner that their upper branches look as if they had been dipped in blood. The substance in its natural state, before it is separated from the twig, is called sticklac, from which all the others are made. After being separated, pounded, and having the color extracted by water, it is called seedlac; when melted into cakes, it is called lumplac; when purified and transparent, it is the shellac, which is so extensively used. It is used by the natives to make rings, necklaces, and bracelets; mixed with cinnabar, it is formed into sealing-wax; heated and mingled with a black powder, it forms a lacquer, or japan; and the coloring substance extracted from the sticklac is the lake of our painters. Last, but not least, of its uses, it is mixed up with river sand and moulded into grindstones. Truly, it is no easy matter to name the creature, which answers such a variety of purposes as this.

Réaumur undertook the benevolent enterprise of civilizing spiders, by way of turning them into operatives, and thereby bringing them into better odor with man; but his good purpose was disappointed; for though they fully proved that they were able to work, they had an unfortunate propensity for eating each other, which proved to be inconsistent with the virtues and charities of industrious and social life. Their powers as artisans were very respectable, but no inducement could be brought to bear upon them; as for working for a living, it was the last thing they thought of; for some of them lived a year without tasting food, or seeming in the least exhausted by fasting. This indifference to common wants, is one of the most remarkable things in the character of the race; they never seem to repine under any degree of pain or privation. They are probably mortal, but it seems sometimes almost impossible to kill them. Bees will live many hours under water; caterpillars are frozen up through the winter, and bear it with the utmost composure. Dr. Dwight tells us of a beetle which was planed out of a table where he had resided, if we remember rightly, eighty years without a dinner. Dr. Arnold once had an insect, which, after the tender-hearted manner of collectors, was pinned down to a table; some other insects happening to be within reach, it proceeded to eat them with as good an ap-

petite as ever it had in its life. Some beetles have been soaked in boiling water, without being oppressed by the heat. Many insects have a way of pretending to be dead, as a sort of hint to man, that if, as usual, he is disposed to kill them, he may spare himself the trouble. If any one is disposed to ascertain whether their death is counterfeited or not, they will not flinch, even when torn asunder, or thrown on burning coals. Some, even when cut in two, retain the easy indifference which they manifest on most other occasions. Many of our readers have probably seen ants cut from a hollow tree in spring, and though they must have passed many months without food, regain their cheerfulness in the sun. The ant, however, is torpid through the colder parts of the winter. Our ants, though, like those of Scripture, they are models of industry, have not the forethought to provide for the winter. But it may be that in warmer climates they have this prudent habit, for which they have been so long held out as an example.

It is fair to say, that in cases where insects are troublesome, they are sometimes less injurious than is supposed, and the blame does not invariably fall on the one that deserves it. It is thought that the irritating insects, particularly those that draw blood from domestic animals in summer, are necessary to their health,—to save them from the diseases which would be otherwise occasioned by heat and repletion. In the household, too, it is no misfortune that they enforce the duty of perpetual cleanliness, and it is well known that, as in the case of moschettoes, a little attention may reduce the number and inconvenience of their visitations. We are told,—and it may be well to mention it in this connexion,—that the house-fly does not, as is commonly supposed, abuse the familiarity which man allows him. He is harmless and friendly in his disposition, and moreover cannot bite if he would. His proboscis is soft and sponge-like,—altogether unable to inflict a wound. This is the *musca domestica;* but there is another kind which exactly resembles him in person, except in having a sharp proboscis, with which he bites pretty seriously; he is known by the name of *stomoxys calcitrans.* This is not the only case, in which public resentment confounds the innocent with the guilty.

Our respect, if not our regard for insects, will be materially increased, if we consider some evidences and examples of their power. Happily they have not often a common interest sufficiently strong to organize them into parties or coalitions,

and, therefore, do not generally combine their forces to much effect; but there have been cases in which they have made man tremble. We are told, that in ancient times, when Sapor, king of Persia, was besieging Nisibis, the light artillery of an army of moschettoes fell upon him with so much fury, that he raised the siege, and retreated with all possible expedition: but anciently they had so much faith in these things, that now we have very little; still we have seen a man fly from the wrath of a bee, and we can conceive, that in this case, it is possible that the larger size of man may have been overborne by the numbers and valor of the moschettoes, and thus the battle have gone against the strong. But there are facts, modern and undoubted, which show how formidable insects can be. A small beetle has appeared regularly in the German forests; in 1783, there were more than a million and a half of trees destroyed by them, and more than eighty thousand were counted in a single tree. We are told, by aged men, that many years ago, an insect made such ravages in the oaks of New England, that their case seemed as hopeless as that of the locusts is now. On the third year of their appearance, a heavy frost in May, which was very destructive to vegetation, put a period to the ravages of the insect, and it has not made its appearance in any force again. Wilson, the ornithologist, as quoted by Mr. Rennie, gives an account of the devastation made at the South by a small insect, which had hardly spared ten trees in a hundred on a tract of two thousand acres. 'Would it be believed,' he says, 'that the larvæ of an insect no bigger than a grain of rice, should silently, and in one season, destroy some thousand acres of pine trees, many of them from two to three feet in diameter, and a hundred and fifty feet high? In some places the whole woods, as far as you can see around you, are dead, stripped of the bark, their wintry looking arms and bare trunks bleaching in the sun, and tumbling in ruins before every blast.' In the last century, an insect, *formica saccharivora*, attacked the sugar-cane plantations in the island of Granada, so fatally as to put an entire stop to cultivation. They covered the roads and fields; they killed rats and mice by thousands; when large fires were made to consume them, they crowded on till they extinguished them by their numbers. The whole crop was burnt and the ground dug up, but all to no purpose; human power could do nothing. A reward of twenty thousand pounds was offered to any one

who would discover a remedy, but they were not even checked, till in 1780, they were destroyed by torrents of rain. Dobrizhoffer gives a curious account of the ants in Paraguay. He says, that they make burrows in the earth with infinite labor, under houses and larger buildings, forming large winding galleries in the ground. On the approach of rain, as if knowing what to expect, the ants take wing and fly away. The water rushes into their caverns, and undermining the building, it falls in total ruin. He mentions, that the ground, on which his church and house were built, was full of those caverns. For many days in rainy weather, the altar was rendered useless, for the ants flew out and fell upon the priests and every thing around. Ten outlets by which they escaped from the ground were closed, but the next day it was found that they had opened twice as many more. One evening there came a severe thunder-storm, in the midst of which the Indian, who had the care of the church, came to warn them that its walls were beginning to crack and lean; he snatched a lamp and ran to the place, but sunk up to the shoulders in a pit like a cellar, which, as soon as he was drawn out of it, he found was the house of the ants. As fast as the Indians shovelled earth into it, they dug it out. These are their greater exploits. Their ordinary employment is, to go in an endless procession to the place where grain is deposited, and to carry off bushels in a day or a moonlight night. They strip trees of their leaves, and reap fields as clean as the sickle. They will even attack men when sleeping, and unless they escape at once, cover them with their painful stings, and the only way of expelling them is by throwing lighted sheets of paper upon the swarm. This Jesuit was no naturalist; he once, as he tells us, pursued a skunk and succeeded in getting more explicit information from the animal itself concerning its own value and properties, than he could have wished, '*horrendo odore.*' He does not enlighten us as to the kind of ant, but says that they are the kings of Paraguay, and we doubt whether Dr. Francia has been able to subdue them.

The account of the white ants, or *termites*, was given to the world by Smeathman fifty years ago, and subsequent writers have added little to his information; the account, however, is sufficiently curious to bear repetition, since it affords the most remarkable example that can any where be found of admirable instinct, perseverance and power. Between the

tropics, they are the most formidable enemy man has to encounter, destroying papers, provisions, furniture, and every thing, even to house and home. Metal, glass and stone they do not eat; why, does not appear, except it be from a principle of forbearance, equally touching and unexpected. They have been known to go up through one leg of a table and return down the other, in the course of a single night. An engineer, in the same space of time, had his clothes, papers, and the lead of pencils, which were all, as he thought, secured in a trunk, eaten by these destroyers. When they attack a house, they eat away the heart of the timber, leaving only the outer shell; but, being well aware that this process would soon bring the house about their ears, they fill the cavities as they advance with clay, which soon becomes hard as stone. Mr. Forbes remarks, that in his house at Tobago, he observed one day, that the glasses of some pictures were dull and the frames dusty. On attempting to wipe them, he found that the frames were plastered firmly to the wall by this sort of mortar; the ants having eaten the frames, back boards, and most of the paper, leaving nothing but the prints and the gilding; thinking, perhaps, that as the latter might be of some use to him, and could be of none to them, it was but just to spare them. They are as adroit in constructing their own habitations, as in destroying those of man. They raise hills ten or twelve feet high, a work almost incredible for a creature not more than a quarter of an inch long. The royal chamber is in the centre, and other cells and galleries are gradually multiplied around it. The whole fabric is so well constructed, that the wild bulls sometimes make use of them for the purpose of observatories, and find them strong enough to bear their weight. If any one attack their habitation, they are at once ready to do battle. Smith gives us his opinion of their warlike power. He says, that he one day attempted to knock off the top of one of the hills. The insects within, hearing the noise, came out to see what was the matter, upon which he took to his heels and ran away as fast as he could. They have been known to attack an English ship of the line, and capture it by boarding; it is said, that the palace of the English Governor-General in Calcutta is perishing under their operations. The insects, perhaps, like some other people, have never been able to see distinctly the right by which he governs in their country; in superstitious times, this would be thought prophetic of the fate which awaits the British empire in India in some future day.

The locusts have been dreaded from the earliest time, as appears from the Hebrew prophecies and the profane historical writings. We have authentic and particular accounts of these visitations in modern times. One of the most alarming was in Russia, in 1650. They entered it at three different points, and thence spread over the neighboring countries in such numbers, that the trees bent with their weight; they destroyed every thing, and when they died, they were found lying in many places to the depth of several feet upon the ground. Dr. Shaw, in his travels in the Levant, was a witness to one of their invasions. In April, their numbers darkened the sun. In June, after their breeding time was over, they re-appeared, recruited by their young, in compact bodies of several hundred yards square, and marched forward, taking possession of gardens, trees and houses, devouring every green thing. The inhabitants dug trenches, which they filled with water, and kindled large fires; but the fires were extinguished, and the trenches filled with carcasses. A day or two after these had passed, another division passed over the same ground, and finding no other food, ate the young branches and the bark of the trees. Nothing comes amiss to them; if they cannot supply themselves with the fruits of the garden, they will feed on the thorn-apple and the deadly night-shade. The lord of the creation finds his sovereignty a very empty distinction, when his title is disputed by such things as this.

The ingenuity displayed by insects in various operations is truly wonderful, and certainly puts the large beasts to shame. The most momentous of these with them, as with man, is the construction of a habitation. Every one knows the skill of the common bee and wasp, in geometry and architecture; but however it may have been with naturalists, it was not generally known that the solitary species, who labor without the advantages of counsel and mutual aid, were able to produce such results in the form of masonry, caverns and arbors. Mr. Rennie gives most interesting information on this subject, for which we are indebted to his own observations. He has seen a mason-wasp scooping out a gallery in a brick, by gradually removing particles with her jaws, which serve her both as trowel and chisel; lest the chips should betray her retreat, she carefully removed them where the ichneumon fly, which minds every insect's business except its own, should find no clue to her eggs. When the excavation was completed, the

eggs deposited, and some caterpillars placed in it to serve as food for the young when hatched, the wasp departed, well satisfied with the results of its labors. He gives an account equally pleasing, of the work of the mason-bee. In May, 1829, he discovered the bank which supplied all the mason-bees in the neighborhood with their mortar. It was a brown clay, in which was a hole which the bees were constantly entering, and from which each returned laden with a bit of clay. On arresting one of the bees, he found that the clay had been moistened and kneaded; it did not take more than half a minute to prepare its hod, and the dryness of the air was such, that in order to make their work hold together, they were obliged to work as if it were a matter of life and death, at the rate of fourteen or fifteen hours a day. He traced one of them to her nest on the inner wall of a coal-house of roughly finished brick, where she was building upon an upright crevice from which the mortar had fallen. While working at the bank, she was perfectly unconcerned; but here she had an air of great mystery and reserve, as if afraid of betraying her retreat to marauders. When she thought herself observed, she pretended to be busy about something else, prying most intently into some other crevices of the building. This bee did not use lime in her mortar, according to the usual practice of the race. When cells were made and eggs deposited, with a quantity of pollen for food, the bee left the young to take care of themselves.

Another curious race bear the name of carpenters, and deserve it from the magnitude and excellence of their works, made with no better tool than their jaws, which answer the purpose of chisel, plane, and key-hole saw. The male seems, like many human animals, to go to places of public resort, while the female pursues her manifold and solitary labors. This bee also carries away its chips, and varies its flight so as to mislead any insect spy. She first makes a tunnel in the wood, beginning in an oblique, which is soon changed to a perpendicular direction; at the bottom of the excavation she deposits an egg, with provision for its future support, and then covers it with a ceiling of cemented saw-dust, which serves as floor to the chamber above. This floor is made by concentric circles gradually closing toward the centre, and after having completed several chambers, she uses the same material to form the outer door. It occurs to the

bee, that the egg first laid will be first hatched, and the young have no means of escape, except through all the rest of the chambers. In order to obviate this difficulty, she is at the trouble of making lateral openings to the bottom of each chamber, through which each young one may retire without disturbing the order of the family. Can such things be?

Equal skill and even more taste are displayed by a kind of bee, to which has been given the name of upholsterer. Its young, if, like grubs in general, they are blind, cannot be very particular as to the decorations of their lodging; still the parent gratifies her own affection, by lining it with the richest materials which the season affords. She digs an excavation two or three inches deep, and polishes the wall to prepare it for the tapestry. The poppy-bee makes use of the scarlet petals of the flower from which she is named; she cuts out pieces in an oval shape, and afterwards cuts them, if necessary, to suit the place they are intended to fill. It is no easy matter for human hands to cut a poppy-leaf without its shrivelling; but this presents no difficulty to the more delicate instruments of the bee. It is a question with naturalists, whether the bee is induced to select this flower by a regard for the beauty of its color, or some perception of its properties which we are not acquainted with; so long, however, as the bees themselves are silent on the subject, there is little hope that the question can be satisfactorily decided. The leaf-cutter bee belongs to the same craft, and though it works entirely by rule of thumb, shears its circular pattern from the leaf of the rose and other plants with marvellous precision; in fitting it to the wall of her nest, she employs no paste, but trusts to the spring of the leaf to retain it in its position. It would seem as if, on comparing notes, it would be found that the bee can learn less from man than man from the bee. Many of these creatures are as remarkable for fierceness as for industry. Mr. Rennie mentions that he once attempted to examine a nest of lapidary bees, but was prevented by the warlike owners, who, not satisfied with repelling the invasion, chased him a quarter of a mile.

We said that man might learn from insects; but we are not sure that human skill would be adequate, even to an imitation of many of their inventions. Still it seems very probable, as Mr. Rennie suggested, that if men had studied under insects, many improvements, which have been brought to their present perfection by the efforts of successive ages, would have been

completed long ago. The wasp has always made the paper from which it constructs its nest, by uniting vegetable fibres with glue, while man was vexing himself with attempts to write on the bark of trees or a waxen or metallic table. But the ancient naturalists were not sufficiently close observers; they doubtless saw the operations of the mason-bee, but so far from suspecting what it was doing, they supposed it to be carrying the bits of stone and clay as ballast, to steady itself against the wind. They were acquainted with the musical powers of the cicadæ, but not with their mechanical furniture. The instrument, with which the female,—the male being the musician,—pierces the vegetable to insert its eggs, is composed of three pieces, the two outer ones being saws with teeth, the inner pointed like a lancet. The denticulated pieces are capable of being drawn forward and backward like a saw, while the inner one is stationary, and at the same time they are united together in one. The saws, or files, as Réaumur calls them, have grooves in them, which receive a projecting part of the central piece or lancet, on which they slide up and down. The saw-fly has an instrument still more curious, for sawing a hole into the wood; it consists of two equal and similar saws, sliding upon each other, which it works at the same time, the one being drawn back, while the other is pushed forward; these are inserted in one back, which also contains a passage through which the eggs are passed into the hole cut to receive them. The teeth of these saws are themselves denticulated with fine teeth, so as to combine the properties of a saw and a file. If we could imagine a carpenter, with a saw composed of two plates sliding upon each other, cutting at the same time in the same course, and moved, the one forward, the other back, by the same motion of his hand, we can easily conceive that he would bless his stars for such an invention.

Some insects enjoy a perpetual feast of tabernacles, after the manner of the Jews. They roll a leaf in such a manner as to protect them from other insects and the elements, and to furnish them with board and lodging at the same time; and though the appearance of our trees and shrubberies is not improved by their proceedings, we cannot help admiring the skill and industry they manifest in their constructions. Some insects, disgusted with the insecurity of life and property on earth, deposit their eggs, so that their young may first see the light under water; the grubs provide a lodging with leaves, straws, or bits

of stone. Some disguise their cocoons by an outer covering, so much resembling the soil or leaves, that no animal sagacity can detect them. The moths which make havoc among clothes, finding their way to them through cracks and key-holes, provide for their young, at our expense, a lodging of a most comfortable description, from which they cannot be easily removed; camphor and similar articles being regarded by them with the utmost unconcern. Mr. Rennie took one from the carcase of that moth, which bears the respectable name of 'old lady,' and placed it on the green cloth of a desk, where its proceedings were under his eye. It cut a hair near the cloth, and after placing it in a line with its body, cut another, which it laid parallel to the former, binding them together with silk, and so on, till it had made a covering large enough for its body; this was made large enough also to admit of its turning round in it, and when finished, was lined with silk, an article in which insects are large dealers. As the caterpillar increases, it adds to its covering at either end; but it increases in thickness also, and in order to make room, it slits the case half way down on each side, and fills up the space with a patch; then proceeds to enlarge the whole length in the same systematic and deliberate way. Réaumur says, that they never will leave their dwelling for another; but Mr. Rennie says, that in case they are molested, they fling away in a passion. The very individual whose history has been alluded to, took up its habitation in a 'ghost moth,' but either from resentment at being disturbed, or from fear of ghosts, it adjourned to the 'old lady.'

Nothing, however, exceeds the habitation of the mason-spider, of which there are several kinds. One of them bores a hole in the ground two feet long and half an inch broad, a work, which, considering that it is executed by a single spider, without pickaxe or shovel, is very far beyond the rail-road tunnels of England. This tube is delicately lined with silk, and is closed with a trap-door, suspended by a silk hinge, and fitting close in a sort of case or groove, like the doors of our houses, the inner side being perfectly smooth, and the outside rough like the rest of the bank, in the side of which this horizontal gallery is made, in order that no external appearance may betray it. This door is a perfect circle, though the insect is as ill provided with mathematical instruments as certain bucket-makers of our country, concerning whom tradition says, that they had no means of describing a circle, except by

holding up their board before the moon when at the full. The spider makes its home at the further end, and carries lines of silk, which give notice when any stranger is at the door. When this is the case, the spider runs to the door, not however to invite the stranger in, but to fasten the door against him, which he does by bracing himself against the wall, and holding the door with both hands. Mr. Rennie had the nest of a mason-spider, not of the same kind, sent him from the West Indies. It had a door of the size of a crown-piece, slightly concave on the outside and curved within, formed by several layers of the same kind of tapestry which lines the interior, the inner layers being the broadest and the outer less in diameter, except toward the hinge, which is about an inch long. The elasticity of the materials gives the door the property of acting like a spring, and shutting of its own accord. The door fits in an aperture of the same material, and so accurately, that when shut, it is difficult to discover by the sight where it is. A door of elastic materials, closing in this way by a spring, is a contrivance which must make the best mechanic that ever lived acknowledge, that in this respect the spider is his master.

The same ingenuity which governs insects in the construction of their dwellings, is also manifested in their provision for the wants and happiness of their young. Their instinct acts here with almost unerring precision; there are cases in which an insect occasionally casts a figure incorrectly, but such cases are few. The butterfly draws its support from flowers; but knowing that such provision would never do for its young, it deposits the egg on such plants as will afford support to the grub, and before doing so, generally takes pains to ascertain that no other has forestalled it. The moschetto and dragon-fly, though it would be as much as their lives are worth to go in the water themselves, deposit their eggs in it for the benefit of their young. The gad-fly, whose young are first to see the light, figuratively speaking, in the stomach of a horse, manifests much address in effecting its purpose; it flies round the horse, and balancing on its wings, glues its eggs to his hair, amounting to some hundreds in all. They are hatched by the least warm moisture. When the horse licks the place, he conveys many of the grubs to his mouth and swallows them, already hatched by contact with his tongue. It may be observed, that the fly chooses the knee and shoulder, as places

where the horse is most likely to reach them. The ichneumon fly lays its egg in the body of a caterpillar; and the young, when hatched, feed upon it; but with prudence exceeding its humanity, the grub avoids the vital parts, and carefully keeps the caterpillar alive till it has no further use for it. An insect which deserves to be better known, was seen by Ray, dragging a green caterpillar to a hole it had dug in the sand. After removing a pellet which closed the mouth of the hole, the insect went down into the grave, and drew the caterpillar in. When it came up again, it rolled in bits of earth, scratched in the earth with its fore-feet, then went to a pine tree for resin to seal it, and having arranged every thing so as to conceal the entrance, it took two pine-leaves and laid them in a particular manner, so that it might know the spot again. Every one knows the perseverance with which a common beetle rolls little balls to the distance of several feet, that they may fall into holes which they have prepared for the residence of their young. They work in a way, which, however it might be with man, is the most effectual that they can employ, by supporting themselves against the ground and trundling it onward with their hind-feet; the ancients observed this proceeding, and believed that the insects did it by way of exercise and recreation; though it would evidently have been easy to find some pleasanter sport. Some insects, not distinguished for ingenuity in providing for their young, supply the defect by extreme personal attention; such as the much-injured earwig, which takes example from the hen, and superintends her young with equal assiduity, marching before them with motherly dignity and affection. The spider carries about its eggs in a silk bag, which it defends with as much fury as if it contained money; it will not give them up, but with the last drop of its blood. The wasps, though perfect Ishmaelites as to all the rest of the world, are courteous and civil in their intercourse with each other, and so affectionately devoted to their young, that they will not forsake them even when their nest is torn to pieces. Ants, when disturbed, may be seen carrying little white bodies to a place of safety, and so intent are they upon their work, that even when cut in two, they will not give it over. These are the eggs, which, as soon as hatched, are taken care of by the workers, which move them about according as they require to be warm or cold, wet or dry. An hour before sunset, they remove them to the lower cells, to keep them warmer, and bring

them up again every morning. If the weather-wise think it likely to rain, they do not remove them. As soon as the sun in the morning shines on the nest, the ants at the top go below and strike those in the lower stories to wake them; being no strangers to the benefit of early rising, they carry the young into the sun for a quarter of an hour, and then place them in the shade. The humble-bee also, a good-natured creature, though not so distinguished for ability as other bees, is even more devoted to its young.

Though insects exert great address in favor of their young, they display equal resources when acting for themselves. They are tolerably well secured by nature, which has made it next to an impossibility to kill them; nature also has provided them with means of escape and resistance. Many insects take the color of the earth or plant on which they happen to be, and, as any one may observe in the case of the privet-moth, though the caterpillar is several inches in length, a person might repeatedly look at the plant without detecting it. Some resemble dried leaves, and in that way elude the sharp eye of the bird. There are some which get their living by their wits, sometimes exerting them in an honest manner, at others, as thieves and robbers. Huber remarks, that a party of hive-bees went to the residence of certain humble-bees, to beg or steal, as the case might be. The humble-bees acted the part of Samaritans, believing that the knaves were poor and helpless, and for three weeks actually supported their lazy guests. This matter came to the ear of some neighboring wasps, who thought this a very pleasant way of supporting life, and therefore went to the nest and joined the party. The humble-bees were willing to do in charity all that bee could do; but thinking this addition to their poor-rates intolerable, they determined, rather than have any quarrel, to give up their nest, and accordingly departed in peace. It is not uncommon for bees which have been badly managed, to fall into bad habits, and at last to take to the highway. Some of them are called corsairs, on account of this practice. Several of them will sometimes stop a bee which is engaged in its honest calling; one seizes one leg, and another the other, while a third takes it by the throat, and calls upon it to stand and deliver its honey. When they have rifled it they let it go. Sometimes these pirates form an expedition, to take some neighboring hive by storm. The garrison resists valiantly, but should their queen be killed in

the battle, they think it useless to contend any longer, so they lay down their arms, and all unite and plunder the cells in the most harmonious manner. Nothing human exceeds the fierceness of an angry bee. One writer recommends giving brandy mixed with honey to bees, to sustain them under such an invasion; while others say, that such pot-valiancy would no more help their fighting than their morals. What their success in war is, may be learned from the story of a clergyman, as related by Kirby and Spence. His house was attacked by a mob, with which he vainly endeavored to reason. Finding that they were proceeding to acts of violence, he ordered his bee-hives to be thrown among them; the bees fought like lions, and soon cleared the field.

There are some ants, who have great aversion to labor; and in order to avoid the necessity of supporting themselves, they compel others to support them. This, however, it should be remarked, is not in this country, but in Europe; here, all know, that ants, as well as men, are born free and equal. The ant that carries on this trade, which is regarded as piracy by all civilized insects, is called the legionary,—a name descriptive of its military habits; the race which it reduces to bondage, is a sort of negro. The legionaries march against a settlement of the black ants, take it by storm, and carry away their prisoners. The old ants they do not touch; they prefer the young, whom they carry to their own home, and then train them to menial services of all descriptions. The natural consequence follows. They become too indolent and proud to work, and would starve were it not for their slaves, thus creating the necessity, by which probably they would justify the practice. They do not lord it over their negroes; on the contrary, they treat them with great kindness and even respect; the slaves are on the same footing as our slaves were formerly in New England, where they used to sit at table with the farmers, give their advice like oracles, and henpeck their owners in such a manner, that it was a relief to have them set free. We trust that no one will use these accounts, now so unquestionably proved to be true, to show, that the relation of slavery is not unnatural; the argument is no stronger than that in favor of royal government drawn from the practice of the bees, and employed by those, who overlook the fact, that a state of civil society may do well enough for bees, without being adequate to the wants and improvement of man. There are other

respects, in which these insects may well be quoted as an example. Thus we are told by Huber, that the female ants, when they become mothers of a family, cut off their wings and throw them away, thinking, doubtless, that domestic cares and duties will leave them no time to fly round as in former days.

No creature displays greater talent in providing for his own subsistence than the ant-lion, an insect which is particularly fond of ants, but has neither strength to master them in a fair field, nor fleetness to run them down. Indeed its means of progression are very unfavorable to the chase, as it can only move backwards, and that with a halting gait; its appearance is so uninviting, that other insects think twice before they go near it ; it will eat no meat, except what it has slaughtered with its own hands. With this fastidiousness and these disabilities, one would say, that the creature had a reasonable prospect of starving to death. This, however, is not his opinion ; he knows that stratagem is sometimes an overmatch for strength; he therefore selects a place where he may construct a pitfall for a trap, generally choosing a loose soil, which can be excavated with least trouble. The way in which he goes to work is entirely his own. He first describes a circle, to mark the rim of his pit; then placing himself on the inside of this circular furrow, he pushes himself backward under the sand, making the hind part of his body serve as a plough-share ; then using his fore-leg for a shovel, he heaps a load of earth upon his head, which is flat and square; then giving his head a jerk, he tosses the earth to the distance of several inches. Thus he goes round the circle; then he marks and shovels out another furrow inside the former, and so on till he reaches the centre of the circle. In order that the whole burden may not come upon one leg, when he has finished one furrow, he proceeds with the next in an opposite direction. Should he come to a bit of gravel, he lays it on his head, and flings it out; should the stone be too large, he shoulders it and carries it on his back up the sloping side of the pit; if this cannot be done, he either leaves the pit or works the stone into the wall. The pit, when completed, is conical, sloping down to a point, where the ant-lion takes his station, and in order that other insects may not suspect his object, covers himself with sand. When idle and thoughtless insects see this pit, they must needs look in, to see what it is and what it is for; but as they indulge their curiosity, the sand gives way under them and down they

go. If they attempt to escape by climbing the side, it yields beneath their feet, and the ant-lion beneath pelts them with sand in such a manner, as soon to put an end to their endeavors; having fed upon his prey, the ant-lion, in order to save his reputation, throws the skin to a considerable distance. After having led this life for two years, the ant-lion is promoted to the rank of a fly.

The English naturalists have noticed a kind of spider, which, having observed that many insects fall into the water, thinks that his best harvest is there; but nature has neither formed him for swimming, nor provided him with shipping. He does what man would do in a similar case. He collects materials on the shore to form a raft, ties them together with silken strings, and pushing off from the shore, sails out to relieve any insect that may happen to be drowning, not, as may well be supposed, from motives of pure humanity, but rather of that mixed kind which enters so largely into most actions in this world. What ideas insects have upon the subject of social rights and claims, we do not know. They are active enough in relieving each other while living; but let an unfortunate insect be taken sick, and they gather about him and put him out of his pain. Whether they think that if he must die, the sooner the better, or whether this is the means which nature has provided for shortening the agony of death, it is upon the whole a benefit to those which are subjects of the operation. The female bees make a general massacre of the drones; wasps, on the approach of winter, as they do not make any provision against the evils of cold and hunger, murder their young, on Sancho's principle, that there is no pain so great which death cannot end. Some suppose that insects and other animals do not suffer as we do from such an operation; the main reason upon which they support the theory is the cheerfulness with which the insects submit to it; but this may arise from other causes; besides, they are not in the habit of expressing their feelings. It will be better for the sake of humanity, to go on the presumption that they suffer, because the doubts upon the subject are not easily removed.

The motions of insects are very curious, and some of them have occasioned much controversy and speculation. Apodous larvæ have no occasion to take long journeys, their business confines them at home; they therefore make their way slowly, by gliding, jumping or swimming, ways sufficiently rapid for

their purpose. The motion of serpents, in old time was accounted very mysterious; no one could tell how they moved so rapidly, without any visible means of walking, and this was among the reasons which gained for them so much reverence in ancient times. Sir Everard Home at last discovered, that the points of their ribs were curiously constructed for the purpose; and in the same way it is probable that many things of the kind, which are now incomprehensible, will appear to be very simple. Some move by contracting the segments of their bodies; others, like the larvæ of flies, drag themselves by hooks in the head, an operation as inconvenient as if a man should drag himself on the ground by his chin; cheese-maggots fix their mandibles in places on the table, and let them go with a jerk which sends them to a marvellous distance. Caterpillars climb very readily, but for security carry a ladder of ropes as they go, sticking it to glass or any substance, however hard and smooth, on which they happen to be ascending. They often have occasion to descend from branch to branch; sometimes they are shaken by the wind or thrown with violence to the ground, in which case they take their rope with them, and by means of it re-ascend the tree. So when they travel round the tree, they need a clue to conduct them back to the nest. When they move, they reach forward their necks as far as possible, fasten the thread, then bring up their body and take another step, a movement which may be seen in the canker-worm of our orchards. When they descend, they have power to contract the orifice through which they send out their thread, so as to let themselves gradually down. In climbing on the line, the caterpillar catches the thread as high as it can reach, pulls up its body, grasps the thread with its hindmost legs, and thus regains the tree from which it had fallen. When it has thus ascended, it is found to have a little ball of thread.

The motion of flies was long a subject of debate and wonder; some thought that they must have claws, others that they had glutinous sponges, an appendage which would not allow of rapid motion. Hooke was the first to observe, that some curious mechanism must be employed, but what it was he could not discover; he thought it might be something resembling card-teeth, set opposite to each other, by which they could grapple some projecting places, such as they might find on the smoothest surfaces. Durham thought it not unlikely that they stuck, as boys lift a lap-stone by a piece of wet leather attached to

the top; an explanation which amounted to nothing more than a confession of ignorance; since, though it might show how a fly could stick to a wall, the object was to show how they move on the wall. Sir Everard Home at last discovered, that it was done by producing a vacuum between the surface on which they walk and parts of the foot constructed for that purpose. There are two suckers connected with the last joint of the tarsus, and a narrow neck which moves in all directions, under the root of each claw. These suckers consist of a contractile membrane, which adapts itself to any surface. Had it been possible for the fly to communicate with men, the air-pump of Guericke, and possibly our countryman Dr. Prince's improvement upon it, might have been known to the world much sooner after it was created. There is a water-spider, also, which invented the diving-bell and has used it to more purpose than men. It spins a shell of closely woven white silk, in the form of half a pigeon's egg, which forms the diving-bell. This is sometimes under, sometimes partly above the surface of the water, and is lashed by threads to whatever happens to be near. It is closed all round except an opening below. By this contrivance, the spider carries air with it down to its submarine nest. To complete the catalogue of mathematical instruments, it is well known, that the gossamer spider ascends high into the air with its light thread, on the principle of the balloon.

The movement of spiders in the air has always been regarded as a difficult matter to explain. Dr. Lister, the celebrated English naturalist, whose researches into the habits of spiders discovered almost all that is now known, believed that they had the power of shooting out threads in the direction in which they wished to go. Kirby also used the same language, speaking of the spider 'shooting out his threads,' not from carelessness of expression, but evidently meaning to be literally understood. White of Selborne gives the same account of the spider. This certainly is a great weight of authority in favor of this power in the spider; but it is so unlike every thing with which we are acquainted, that we are naturally suspicious of some mistake, and we are glad to see that Mr. Rennie will not allow, that the spider has a gift so much beyond the usual order of nature. There are those of no small pretensions as naturalists, who believe that the floating of the spider's thread is electrical, and maintain that it can dart its thread in the wind's eye. Whoever hastily observes them will be of the same opinion, with

respect to the gossamer spider and some others. Within a few days, standing in a shed, we saw a line of very small spiders coming down perpendicularly from the wall, each being apparently attached to a large thread by a smaller thread of its own. There were perhaps a hundred in the string. After having descended about eight or ten feet, the lowest came opposite to a door, where a light air was blowing in, and turned off in a direction almost horizontal towards the door. On looking very closely, we could discover no line beyond the leading spider, but on striking the hand between him and the wall, he immediately fell into the perpendicular again. It is difficult to believe that spiders have sufficient projectile force to dart out a thread of such a material to any considerable distance, and the general opinion now is, that they depend wholly upon the lightness of their thread and the agitation of the air.

In the Insect Miscellanies, Mr. Rennie discusses some curious subjects connected with insects, which were not embraced in the design of his former works. One is, the manner in which insects are guided in their flight, not so much by their sight, as by the delicate nerves of their wings; in this power resembling bats, which, as is proved by some humane experiments, can find their way as well without eyes as with them. Another is the sensibility of insects to changes of temperature. Mr. Rennie does not seem to think very highly of their observations of the weather. We had supposed that they equalled the most nervous invalid in their sensibility; ants are known to secure their eggs against the rain, and there seems to be no reason, why spiders should not be equally accurate observers. There are flowers which foretell such changes, and if such presages are necessary to the existence of the insect, doubtless their instinct supplies them. They probably are not much acquainted with causes and effects; but instinct is the direct agency of a power which is not limited in its capacities. It is no acquaintance with the principles which govern the ordnance department, which induces the insect called the bombardier to discharge its artillery upon any insect which pursues it; it is frequently chased by other insects, and instead of retreating, it waits till they come within point-blank shot, and then discharges its field-piece with a noise and smoke which to insects are truly alarming. In this way it will fire as many as twenty rounds, and when its ammunition is exhausted, if the pursuer is not repelled, the gunner will retreat to a shelter, retiring, not with alarm, but with a very imposing front, like the Americans at Bunker Hill.

Mr. Rennie adds to the curious particulars already known, concerning the manner in which grasshoppers produce and increase their sound. They apply the hind shank to the thigh, rubbing it smartly against the wing-case, and alternately the right and left legs. This fiddling, however, would not be heard at any great distance, were it not for a sort of drum at their side, which is formed with membranes suited to increase and echo the sound. The instrument upon which the male cricket plays,—for, unlike the usual order of nature, the female is silent,—is a pair of rough strings in the wing-cases, which they rub against each other. White of Selborne endeavored to naturalize field crickets near his house, and Mr. Rennie to introduce house crickets to his hearth; both were unsuccessful, the insects probably having doubts whether their first welcome would ripen into lasting hospitality.

These are certainly very interesting works, and do credit to the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, of which they form a part, as well as to the ability of Mr. Rennie, as a naturalist and a writer. We do not expect sudden nor striking effects from thus multiplying works of popular instruction, but when they are sown broad-cast, as they are in the present day, some will take root, and produce harvests which the world does not know. To supply means of happiness,—to inspire a taste and talent for observation,—to teach men to pass through the world, not as strangers, but as interested to know every thing about them, though it may not be so splendid a service as many other scientific exertions, is certainly the one which will give the philosopher his most enviable and enduring fame.

Art. X.—*Bigelow's Travels in Malta and Sicily.*

Travels in Malta and Sicily, with Sketches of Gibraltar, in Eighteen Hundred and Twenty-Seven. By Andrew Bigelow, Author of 'Leaves from a Journal in North Britain and Ireland.' Boston. 1832.

It is well observed by Pliny, that history, however written, is always delightful. *Historia, quoquo modo scripta, delectat.* The same remark may be applied to travels; and it may be added with regard to both these classes of works, that they are always instructive. They are the true antidote to the mass of

corrupt and corrupting matter, which is continually poured forth upon the reading world, under the name of novels. They give a correct picture of life and nature, of which novels and romances exhibit a caricature. When prepared in a good spirit and with tolerable ability, they vastly increase the common stock of useful information, clear away many thick clouds of national, sectional or ecclesiastical prejudice, and brighten the chain of brotherhood that links together all the various portions of the human race. Even when they are written,—as is the case, for example, with most of the British travels in this country,—with a malignant intention to misrepresent, or at least an evident willingness to look at every thing upon the wrong side, their effect in the last result is by no means unfavorable. Even in this case they supply useful hints, which will be turned to account by judicious men, and create a wholesome re-action in public opinion, which ultimately places the truth in a strong and clear light. The calumnies of the British travellers and reviewers probably did more than any other single cause, to revive among us the national spirit of the old revolutionary period, which, after partially declining during the prevalence of the ancient political divisions, displayed itself again with so much power and freshness after the termination of the last war.

For these reasons, we have often regretted, that our intelligent citizens who visit foreign countries,—and there is, probably, no portion of the dwellers on the earth's surface, who are more addicted to wandering,—have not more frequently favored us on their return with accounts of their pilgrimages. They probably, in many cases, refrain from doing this under the impression, that the preparation of a book will require extensive additional researches, and a vast expenditure of time and labor, which they cannot conveniently afford. But this opinion is founded on a mistaken notion of the qualities that are most desirable in accounts of travels. As a general rule, the nearer they approach the form of a mere journal, the more distinctly and accurately they give the impression, which was made at the moment on the traveller's mind by the objects he has seen, the better they are. Other persons are as able as he is to generalize and speculate upon the facts that have fallen under his observation; but no one else has noticed these particular facts, and if not recorded by himself, they are lost forever. We find accordingly, that travels, executed in this way, are more entertaining and popular, as well as more useful than any other

works of the class. As proofs and illustrations of this remark, may be mentioned the 'Year in Spain, by a young American,' and Mr. Bigelow's 'Leaves from a Journal, in North Britain and Ireland.' Both these works have been very favorably received abroad as well as at home, and the success they have met with will doubtless bring forth a variety of other publications of a similar kind, from the same or other authors. The wayfaring mode of life, pursued by Lieut. Slidell, will supply him with materials for many a future *Year*, which we trust he will not fail to work up with his wonted grace and spirit. Mr. Bigelow has already embodied in the work before us, the results of a voyage to the Mediterranean, undertaken subsequently to his former excursion, and as we understand partly for the improvement of his health. His course led him through scenes which, though often described, can never lose their interest, and which are associated with the most important events in sacred and secular history. He has not been mistaken, in supposing that an account of them from his pen would be received with satisfaction by the public.

In this publication, as in his former one, Mr. Bigelow has kept in view what, as we have said already, we consider the leading rule for this kind of writing. He gives distinctly and particularly his own observations upon men and things, and even preserves the form of a journal, under which he originally recorded them. He has, however, judiciously avoided the dryness and formality to which this form very often leads, as in the case of the worthy Mussulman pilgrim, whose travels we noticed in a former article. If he has erred at all, it is perhaps in occasionally introducing matter which, though in itself not uninteresting, is irrelevant to the course of the narrative. The style is animated and generally correct, though at times a little too ambitious. The tone of thinking is manly and liberal. It exhibits a pretty strong tincture of national feeling in politics and religion, but rarely if ever in an offensive way. The author has evidently studied with attention the history and geography of the places which he visited, and, without overloading his pages with the results of his inquiries, writes under the advantage of an accurate knowledge of his subject. We can recommend the work as one which contains a mass of useful information, as well as a fund of liberal and rational entertainment, for the intelligent reader.

Mr. Bigelow begins with an account of his voyage across the Atlantic, and of his arrival at Gibraltar, where he made a

short stay. He describes in some detail the moral and physical peculiarities of this singular spot. Proceeding up the Mediterranean, he next conducts us to Malta, where he passed some weeks, and to which he devotes a considerable portion of the book. From Malta he went to Sicily, which forms the subject of the concluding chapters. Such is the general outline of the contents of this work, the character of which will best be shewn by a few extracts. The following passage describes in a lively and picturesque manner the landing at Gibraltar, and the general aspect of the population.

'The Mole was piled with merchandise of all descriptions, and buyers and venders, masters and clerks, sailors, porters, and draymen, were promiscuously mixed. The solemn looks, quaint dress, and sonorous language of the Spanish portion of these groups chiefly arrested my attention. They formed generally the humbler and by far the most numerous class. The strong, well formed horses, which drew their ponderous wagons, were samples of the once famed and still valuable Andalusian breed, and the trappings and housings of uncouth and fantastic materials which literally loaded them, indicated the pride with which their masters still regarded them. Having refreshed the boat's crew at a neighboring stall, which displayed a tempting variety of oranges and other fruits, the products of this delicious clime, I was glad to escape from the scene of noise and justling and hubbub, and to elbow my way to the water-port. There I met the United States' consul, who had politely rode down to greet me, and insure a pass, the right of which is always rigidly questioned. Under the escort of a guide, which this gentleman provided in addition to his other civilities, I again set forth to thread the mazes of this straitened town, in quest of the "traveller's home."

'Proceeding from the Mole by the only outlet, a long vaulted passage through walls of solid masonry, crowded with pedestrians vociferating in divers tongues, and carts whose rumbling wheels completed the almost stunning noise, I entered a military square, which exhibited a moving scene scarcely less animated than that I had just left. Soldiers were hurrying to and fro, many of them busy in preparations for their speedy embarkation for Portugal. The cipher on their equipments told their respective regiments,—the royal artillery, the twenty-third, forty-third and sixty-fourth of the line. Among these brave fellows I was glad to notice a few in the truly martial dress of the Scotch highlanders, with their plaid kilts, tartan hose and proud bonnets and plumes. From this quarter, my guide conducted me into the heart of the town, through streets which elsewhere would be termed lanes and

alleys; and these were all filled with passing multitudes, men, women, and children, sailors and military, horses and carts, dogs, goats and asses. At length we entered Church-street, the main thoroughfare through the town, and which in width and other *comforts* may rival, but not surpass, old Ann-street in Boston. Fronting on this and forming a corner of a small open space, called the Commercial Square, stands the King's Arms Hotel, a house of respectable pretensions, inasmuch as it professes to be the best in the garrison. Thither I was conducted, and the portly landlord having promised me all the comforts his inn affords, I was soon settled and have reason to be satisfied with my accommodations. Calls, and a hasty survey of other portions of the town, occupied the remainder of the day.'

'Leaving the church, I found the streets filled with gay and moving crowds. The weather was mild and inviting, and people of all ages and conditions were tempted abroad. Spanish females of the lower orders were distinguished by scarlet cloaks, which were not ungracefully worn. A hood at the top might serve the purpose of a bonnet, but it was seldom drawn up. Ladies of Spanish birth were clad for the most part in the English costume, save the attire and ornaments of the head. There was this peculiarity in common with them and the lower orders, namely, the absence of bonnets. In place of these, veils were invariably worn, chiefly of black and figured lace. They were square, and being doubled, were drawn over the crown of the head a little in advance of their combs. Their hair was much braided, and it clustered in profusion round their olive brows,—leaving enough of the beautiful swell of their high foreheads exposed to an admirer's gaze. Their eyes are uniformly of a piercing black, rather small, and peculiarly arch and significant in expression. They possess a mobility, if I may so speak, such as no dark-eyed damsels of New England know how to practise. The head is seldom turned to gaze on a stranger, but the eye moves as the object passes, till the latter is completely gone by,—moves too, as though it were capable of making an entire revolution upon its pivot, and would look out of a window behind. I can easily understand the witchery of such an eye, to one willing to yield to its fascinations. It seems possessed of every variety of expression, from a melting, yet seductive softness, to the beaming eloquence of an impassioned brilliancy. In stature they are seldom above the middle height, and their forms, as a general rule, incline to the *embonpoint*. They walk with a vibrating movement not becoming, for it looks too much like the studied air of voluptuousness. All the females, whether high or low, young or old, were provided with fans, which they occasionally

employed to screen their faces from the sun, but more commonly used as a mere plaything. At least, while it was an appendage which none thought they could dispense with, it would puzzle one to conjecture what else it really was meant for. The complexion of the ladies is generally a pale olive, with a slight suffusion of dusky red; while that of the poorer classes is deeply embrowned to an almost tawny hue, by their more common exposure to the suns of this fervid clime.

'As for the men, the more genteel ranks dress much after the English mode. A few Spanish cloaks are seen, but most of their nationality must be sought in their features and mien. In these there is no mistake. The Spaniard is *toujours le même.* Men in humbler life, however, retain pertinaciously their national or rather sectional costumes. The natives of the neighboring provinces of Andalusia, Murcia, and Grenada, appear in characteristic dresses. Broad brimmed hats, with edges slightly and uniformly rolled, ornamented with velvet tufts and other decorations,—vests and jerkins, with a profusion of cord and bell buttons,—tight small-clothes of black velvet, with rows of gilt buttons the entire length of the outer seams,—and long gaiters of divers hues and textures, are among the more obvious peculiarities.'

The celebrated Rock of Gibraltar is more minutely and accurately described, than in any other account which has fallen under our observation, but the great length of the description must prevent us from extracting it. The following passage gives a pleasing picture of the appearance of the little island of Pantellaria, as seen from the ship in its progress up the Mediterranean.

'*Jan.* 30. 1 P. M. I have just descended from deck, after enjoying one of the sweetest spectacles which ever blessed my eyes. It was another gaze on the verdant and picturesque beauties of Pantellaria,—a long, and alas, a parting gaze. But previously to sketching these, as they appeared under other and more advantageous circumstances than on the antecedent day, I must go back and note a few preliminary incidents.

'The gale last night was very surly. The friendly island did all it could to shelter us, but the sea and wind tossed us most ungraciously. The ship's timbers creaked with many a rude shock, and the sweeping blasts whistled through our blocks and shrouds. What with tacking and drifting,—standing off and on, nautically speaking,—we fell considerably to the leeward; and when morning broke, struggling to look forth from under its cloudy mantle, Pantellaria was effectually hid from us as though it had foundered, and not we, beneath the angry floods.

'About sunrise, the storm subsided. "The heart of the gale was broke," as a tar, soused with the plashing spray, was heard to express himself. The sea, very differently from an Atlantic roll, soon abated, and prepared to compose itself to rest. At eight, we made sail and once more hove up for the "bonnie" isle, which lay directly in our proper track. The baffling state of the winds, which having spent themselves in one point, seemed irresolute from what quarter next they should agree to breeze, kept us back for a while in our course. Sailing gradually to the east, at length we again descried Pantellaria, looking like a green sea-gem in a setting of blue. The sun shortly after burst forth with splendor, as if to beam a complacent smile on that sweet isle.

'And how fair it looked when at last we reached it, and glided once more along its emerald shores! The verdure under a sunny sky assumed a deeper and livelier tint, and vegetation wore a richness far surpassing its appearance on the day preceding. Orchards, in the full pride of bloom, displayed their thousand varied hues. In every garden, the almond was seen profusely decked with its damask flowers. The sweetest perfumes were wafted from the expanded blossoms of the citron and orange; and all nature luxuriated under the balmy influences of a soft and roseate morn. The waves, now reduced to gentle undulations, as they stole to the shore—heaved by a zephyr which rather sighed than breathed—broke upon its margin in snowy circlets, like chains of "orient pearl."

'I am not expatiating on mere fancied beauties. The description which I attempt is poor, compared with the genuine impressions which the scene beheld spontaneously called up. We were often scarce a bow-shot from the shore, for the deep waters around it permitted so nigh an approach in perfect safety. No one position on land perhaps could have been so favorable for the view, as none would probably have combined the variety of features which we contemplated in our near and leisurely passage by the island.

'The town, being built at the northwest extremity of Pantellaria, was approached first. Sailing slowly past it, and its pretty Almeda which I had previously overlooked, we observed the population, as on the former occasion,—some busy, but others and the most who were abroad, strolling with a careless air, or seated in social intercourse under the shade of flowering trees. In the vineyards and olive groves, some peasantry were employed, and along the highways leading from the gates of the town towards Cala Tramontana and St. Gaetano, muleteers and pedestrians of either sex, were occasionally passing to and fro, giving

liveliness to the general scene. As we rounded the northern point of the harbor and left the town, the landscape varied, but only to exhibit fresh charms. The monastery of St. Theodore looked down upon us from its green and woody elevation. Successive cots, romantically situated, came momentarily into view. Several little vales of exquisite loveliness put in their claims to notice. Occasionally we could see a limpid brook, stealing through the fresh grass to mingle with the waters which bathed these fairy shores. The country, in short, was spread out as a vast garden, divided into numberless enclosures, the circumscribed limits of which denoted the value and fertility of the smallest spots. Altogether it was a scene of enchantment. The isle of Cytherea could not look fairer.

'The island anciently had a different look, I mean in the matter of loveliness. Seneca mentions it as a rough and barren spot in his day. It is probable that the volcano had not then been long extinguished, and its fertile soil and natural resources have since been mostly created, or perhaps developed. Pantellaria was the Cossyra of antiquity. Its history records varied fortunes. Like many nobler possessions, it has passed successively under the sceptre of the masters of the world, sharing the immediate fate of Sicily almost uniformly. At present, it is a dependence on that crown, and belongs with the title of principality to the house of Requisino. It formed for a long time, a portion of the dowry of the queens of Sicily. It is only arbitrarily denominated a part of Europe, as it lies quite as near to the African continent, and if the lords of the old, or rather the civilized world, dwelt on the other shore, they would consider it doubtless as an appendage of that quarter of the globe.'

Our author was placed under quarantine on his arrival at Malta, and dwells with some feeling upon the fatigue which he suffered during his abode in the Lazaretto. In other respects, he found his reception in the highest degree hospitable and satisfactory. The following passage contains a lively view of the principal street of the city of La Valetta, the capital of the island, and the external appearance and habits of the people.

'Strada Reale (King street,) is the main avenue of Valetta. It is tolerably broad, and lined with noble buildings. The parallel streets are mostly narrow. Vicary's, where I am lodged, is built on the square formed by Strada Reale and Strada Stretta, (literally, 'the street which is called strait,') and fronts on St. George's piazza, a spacious court before the old palace of the Grand Masters. The windows of my apartments are provided

with the general appendage of balconies, and from the central position of the house, I have many materials of observation without stiring abroad.

'These balconies are a curious feature in the Maltese houses. They are of all sizes and patterns. Some are very uncouth, but their oddness is not disagreeable. The stone work is fantastically carved, and the frame above is frequently glazed, and painted with various colors, such as green, blue and slate. Some of the balconies are like the segment of a ship's round house, grappled to the sides of the tenements. They are provided frequently with blinds as well as windows, which swing open from hinges fixed above, and not laterally. I have seen several of the size of little parlors. They are neatly finished within, ornamented with paintings and flowers, and furnished with seats and a table. Members of families spend whole hours in them, and receive visiters there, or pursue their avocations and amusements, the chief of which however seems to be that of gazing on the passing crowd. The smaller balconies are scarcely bigger than sentry-boxes. Two or three persons can just wedge themselves in, and there they will sit like statues for the half day together. One man I observed yesterday in a little balcony of Strada Stretta,—wrapped in a cloak, and his swarthy features half hid by a low slouched hat,—who was fixed to his seat for four good hours. His sole earthly object was that of scrutinizing the motley multitudes that passed beneath. He looked like Diogenes in his tub.

'Such excrescences give a strange bulging shape to the fronts of the houses; especially where, as in some cases, they project half way over the street. They are an anomaly in architecture which I have nowhere else seen. But the streets themselves are often oddly constructed. Those on the sides of the rocky promontory, instead of being gently sloped and made passable for wheels, are spaced off like stairways. St. Paolo is one; both the street and side walks are graduated by this clumsy method; and the pedestrian who ascends it is doomed, for no crime of his own, to much the same penance as that of stepping a tread-mill. There is another peculiarity which arrests attention. The lower windows of the houses are protected by iron grates. The strength of the bars shows that something more than the glass is meant to be guarded. The frames protrude several inches from the walls, and give a monastic, or rather a prison-like look to the edifices. Their purpose is not to prevent the inmates of houses from breaking out, but others from breaking in; and, on the whole, it does not furnish so pleasing an augury of the character of the population as might be wished.

'The people appear to be a hardy and capable race. The

men have generally spare figures, a little under the middle stature, but very muscular and active. Their faces are naturally swarthy, they are sunburnt by the universal custom of wearing unshaded caps, either cotton or woollen. The color of their skins is the same as that of the inhabitants of the neighboring States of Barbary. Indeed there is much in the looks of the people which denote a similar origin, particularly in their short crisped hair, and a certain flatness of the nose. It is said that their language is so nearly the same with that spoken on the Barbary shore, that the natives perfectly understand one another.

'The dress of the Maltese is very singular, but as I have no time to enter into minutiæ just now, I will confine myself to that of the women. When abroad, they are all arrayed in black. They put on over their other dress a robe or loose skirt of that color, brought high on the bosom, and in place of bonnets their heads are covered with a black silk mantle which invests their shoulders, and descends half way behind. The part which covers the head is furnished with a piece of whalebone inserted in the hem, which keeps it in position, and prevents the silk from dropping over the eyes. One hand placed inside, is always necessary to hold together the sides of the scarf in front; and the other is often hid under its folds, only a fore-finger being suffered to peep out through an opening left for the purpose. Of course, under such mufflers little can be seen of the beauties of form or feature, if a Maltese nymph happen to possess them; the eyes and a moving pall-black figure are all that can be distinguished. But sometimes the fair one deigns to exhibit her face to a curious gazer, in place of engrossing to herself the privilege of seeing; and features good humored, rather pleasing than handsome, and irradiated by a pair of fine sparkling eyes, are displayed to the beholder. The complexion is a dark olive, but partaking a little too much of a sort of mulatto tinge. The mantle is obviously borrowed, or rather it has descended, from a distant age and people. It answers to the veil of Eastern ladies.

'In La Valetta, while the accommodations of residence for a portion of the inhabitants are very ample and convenient, those of others are proportionably straitened and pinched. I have said something of this in speaking of the general effect of the houses, but the topic is deserving of further notice. In form and mass, the buildings are uncommonly stately; and at night when the streets are quiet and the population is within doors, a stranger, passing through Valetta, might take it for a city of antique palaces. The founders of these noble houses studied the comfort of coolness in their construction,—the walls of drawing, dining and even common sitting-rooms being often from thirty to

forty feet in height. A tall man in such apartments is in little danger of striking his head against the ceiling. In fact, their great comparative height and spaciousness give a diminutive look to the human stature.

'For the benefit of the poorer classes forming the multitude, these huge buildings are often made to accommodate many small families. As a single room on the ground-floor sometimes serves for a little household, many doors open on the street, and the light and air are admitted to such apartments only through those passages. A white cotton curtain is drawn before the entrances, and when the doors are themselves closed, the rooms are ventilated by means of little glasses fixed in the upper pannels and made to swing back.

'It may be said that such abodes must be cheerless. Undoubtedly; but then they are little used by day. The Maltese are not domestic bodies. The men are always abroad; and the women, if they are not at mass or roving about the streets, will stand or sit for hours in their door-ways, observing the busy crowds, and ready to salute, or chat with, a passing acquaintance. If any thing of a domestic nature requires to be done, as cooking or the like, it is performed abroad. They have no fire-places in their houses, and the culinary apparatus is a portable stone stove shaped like a jar, with a grate on the top, which they set just outside of the foot pavement in the street, when they have occasion to light it. Every morning, about eight, these little stoves are brought forth before their houses and with a few coals or splinters they kindle a small fire, and the preparations for their frugal breakfasts go on. As they are ranged in regular file along the line of the curb-stone, they make, together with the groups around them, an odd appearance.

Owing to the mixed character of the population and their diversified pursuits, meals are taken at very different hours. The common people dine, or eat the morsel which serves them instead, at eleven or half past eleven o'clock. Ecclesiastics, some merchants, and respectable private families of plain habits, take dinner at one. The more fashionable gentry observe in common the hour of four; but when invitations are sent out, the time is fixed an hour or two later. This sometimes confuses the evening's arrangements. I have been asked to take tea in one family at half past five, when I was engaged at another house to join a dinner party, at six.

All sorts of trades and occupations are conducted in the streets,—tailoring, coblering, trunk-making, basket-weaving and others. A shoemaker at a corner near my residence has put up a few boards for a stall, and there he works the livelong day, a

pattern of industry. His accommodations are so contracted that, in drawing a stitch, he could not possibly have space enough, without borrowing room from the street. At another corner, by the square of St. John, a barber has set up business. But if he has the sign of a shop, he has no shop to his sign. He works manfully in the open air, and a merry fellow he is. With a chair, the requisite tools, and a small looking-glass stuck against the street wall, he is as independent as any knight of the basin. I have frequently in passing admired his dexterity in plying the razor, and enjoyed his good humor; and have sometimes laughed at seeing a full-bearded Maltese submitting to the operation, braced in the old roundabout, with an attitude so prim and so grave,—lathered to his eyes, and his chin bolstered on a rag of a towel,—exhibiting, to be sure, in such a place and with all the hubbub about him, a pretty droll figure. When the barber is out of duty, he stands and takes note of the passengers, and if he sees, as he often may, an unlucky wight with a beard *mal-à-propos*,—perhaps a week's growth,—he kindly intimates it, and invites the hermit, if his word should be doubted, to survey his chin in the glass. He is then sure of a fee for 'mowing.' Sometimes he cracks his jokes upon a Turk or a Moor, but then his humor does not seem to be equally relished.'

Malta, as is well known to all, is the Melita of Scripture, and the scene of the shipwreck of St. Paul, as described in the Acts of the Apostles. This circumstance has naturally led the inhabitants to select that Saint as their peculiar patron, and a solemn festival is annually celebrated in his honor, which our author was fortunate enough to see.

'*Feb.* 10.—By one of those chances which sometimes turn up unexpectedly in favor of a tourist, I find myself in Malta at the era of the great religious celebration in honor of St. Paul. The present day is set apart in the calendar as the anniversary of the apostle's shipwreck; and an opportunity has thus been afforded me of witnessing the most striking ecclesiastical pageant, which popery has here instituted. The event commemorated was suitable for solemn observance of some sort; but whether the ceremonies which were practised were the most appropriate in reference to moral uses, is a matter of question.

'The festival commenced by a prelude last evening, when the church of St. Paul was splendily illuminated; but the grand display was reserved for to-day. After mass, celebrated this afternoon with unusual pomp, the preparations for a great solemn procession took effect. All the monkish fraternities in Valetta

joined in the ceremony, and the whole machinery of the hierarchy was put in requisition to make it stately and impressive. The citizens were not behind in their zeal to testify respect for the solemnity. The front of the lofty houses along the principal streets through which the procession was to pass, were hung with drapery of gorgeous hues, trailing to the pavement. Strada Paolo, with its proud old structures, of an architecture grand though fantastic, looked magnificently with these decorations. Windows and balconies were filled with spectators, and a crowd of devotees occupied the square and hung upon the avenues connecting with the church whence the procession was to issue.

'First choosing a station among the last, I was placed to see with advantage the order of the opening ceremonial. The wide-spread portals of the church, St. Paolo, disclosed the interior lighted with innumerable tapers; and they were needed, notwithstanding the hour, for clouds of incense filled the spacious nave and aisles. The various monastic orders, all duly marshalled, displayed, as they successively appeared, their robes of pomp and state, except the Franciscans and Capuchins, whose vows of poverty permit no change of apparel on occasions the most memorable. These walked bare-headed, with sandalled feet, clothed with coarse brown cloaks, or rather frocks with cowls, a girdle of rope about their loins, no linen to their collars, and their rosaries and crucifixes of cheap and homely make. They served as foils to the fathers who followed in sumptuous array and with lordly bearing, and their downcast looks and humble mien lost nothing of interest, in contrast with the ostentatious air and demeanor of their successors. Each society was distinguished by a banner splendidly decorated, exhibiting the likeness of its founder or a painting of its patron saint, and it was curious to observe that even the poor disciples of St. Francis vied in the showiness of that emblem, with the richest and most aspiring of their fellow orders. Crosses, dazzlingly gilt, were borne aloft in the procession. Censers, smoking with incense, were carried in the respective companies and waved from time to time in the air; and those who were not employed in bearing banner, cross or censer, were furnished with tapers, which shone but dimly indeed in the broad light of day.

'When the van of the procession, extending up the street St. Paolo, had reached the summit, it paused to give time for the main appendage of the pageant to be produced. This, it was easy to perceive by the eager looks of the crowd around, was expected with intense solicitude. It was no less than the image of the apostle Paul, large as life, and fine as carving, and gilding, and frippery could make it, which in no long time was lifted

from its recess and brought forth to view. It stood on a broad platform, borne on the brawny shoulders of a number of men, who bowed under the heavy burden. The apostle was paraded in full pontificals, and in the attitude of preaching. His raiment was widely different from that which he probably brought ashore with him, when cast by the waves upon yon coast,—a sign perhaps, that the barbarous people would still show him no little kindness. It resembled a tissue of pure gold. His head was covered with a sort of cardinal's hat, I mean in shape, but it was gilt all over like his drapery. His features,—but I will not describe them. They shocked all my notions of the looks of the poor tent-maker of Tarsus.

'The procession moved with solemn chaunt. The air was redolent with the fuming incense. Bells "tolled out their mighty peal;" and with the symbols already named,—the waving banners, the gleaming crosses, the flowing vestments, and that gorgeous shape of the apostle,

"High in the midst, exalted as a god,"—

nothing was wanting to grace the passing *cortège*. Considered as a spectacle, the effect was certainly imposing.

'To behold it with greater advantage, I mounted, next, to a balcony in a friend's house which commanded a full view of the principal street, the appearance of which was scarcely less striking than the moving show which perambulated through it. Crowds were seen bending as the figure of the saint slowly advanced, and even the groups in the windows and verandahs dropped on their knees, or bowed in obeisance whilst the object was passing. The procession having moved through Strada Reale, defiled into a range of parallel streets, and returning to the church St. Paolo, delivered back in safety its precious charge to the shrine whence it had been taken.'

We have omitted a few sentences in this passage, which are fitted to convey a rather disparaging impression of the effect of such ceremonies, and of the spirit in which they are conducted. In this and other parts of his work, Mr. Bigelow, though disposed in the main to regard the usages and institutions of other nations with great liberality, has, we think, given way to a not unnatural prejudice, resulting from the peculiar form of religion in which he has been educated, and of which he has been an ordained teacher. When he has occasion to direct his attention to the Catholic religion, he is apt to keep in view more particularly those points which, separately taken, may appear like abuses, but which yet may not be without their value as

constituent parts of a great and consistent whole. The object of this system was to place the individual, as far as might be, at every period of his life and in every part of his conduct, whether public or private, important or trivial, sportive or serious, under the influence of religion. Religion received the infant at its birth, and marked him by the sacrament of baptism as a spiritual and immortal being; watched over the earliest movements of his young passions through the confessional; directed the schools and colleges where he received his intellectual training; sanctified with her presence his union with the chosen partner of his life; presided at all his amusements and festivals; opened her convents and hospitals for the relief of his distresses; stood by him at every important crisis in the course of his career, and finally whispered consolation at his pillow in the last dark hours of dissolving nature. Such was the general plan of the Catholic religion, and few will deny that it was carried into effect with singular ability and success. Each particular regulation, considered in itself, was susceptible of abuse and was often abused. The disgust and indignation excited by these abuses finally overcame, in a great part of Christendom, the reverence which was felt by the people for the system itself, and produced the Reformation. If, as Protestants, we believe that the good resulting from this event has, on the whole, exceeded the evil, we must yet allow that the Reformers,—in their anxiety to correct abuses,—swept away many institutions of the highest importance and utility, as they destroyed many architectural monuments of inestimable value, in their zeal to remove from the churches and convents, all traces of idolatry. To allude to the case immediately before us, it is obvious enough, that the intervention of religion in the public festivals would sometimes present her image under ignoble forms and degrading associations; but it is equally clear, on the other hand, that her presence on these occasions tends very strongly to restrain the excesses to which they naturally lead, and that it was a necessary part of the great plan, on which the forms of the Catholic religion were constructed.

The Island of Malta is chiefly remarkable, from having been for several centuries the residence of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who retreated to this place on their expulsion from Rhodes by the Turks, and occupied it until it was finally seized upon by Napoleon on his way to Egypt. The British afterwards took it, but engaged at the treaty of Amiens

in 1802 to restore it to France; and it was ostensibly on account of the breach of this engagement, that the rupture took place the next year, which brought on the counter-revolution. We rather regret, that Mr. Bigelow did not introduce a succinct sketch of the fortunes of this celebrated order of knighthood. They constitute a curious episode in the history of modern Europe, and would have been in a great measure new to the general reader.

The following passage describes the appearance of Mount Ætna and the coast of Sicily, as seen in a remarkably clear day from the Island of Malta. Mr. Bigelow no where appears to greater advantage, than in descriptions of striking and curious local scenery.

'As the air was uncommonly clear, I sent the servant to the terrace as soon as he made his appearance in the morning, to look out for Mount Ætna. Usually the mountain is only discernible, if at all, very early in the day, and though I have often gazed in its direction, I have hitherto failed in obtaining a good view of it. In an air line, its summit is distant from Malta at least one hundred and fifty miles.

'The messenger came down with a countenance brightened with joy and surprise, and said that not only Ætna was clearly visible, but a large extent of the coast of Sicily. The truth of his report I soon verified, for going above, I saw with wonderful distinctness, with the naked eye, both the mountain and a line of shore, that stretched to the east and west for many degrees of the horizon. Cape Passaro, the proximate point of Sicily, is not nearer than sixty miles. Thence the coast bears away for many leagues in a deep curve towards Syracuse; yet the whole seemed scarcely a dozen miles distant. This may be explained, partly by the extraordinary clearness of the air, but chiefly on the principles of atmospheric looming. For, considering the position of the eye at Malta, and the distance of a great part of the land which appeared, it was not possible that so much of the latter could be seen, unless raised and magnified according to some of the phenomena of optical reflection. I am satisfied in my own mind, at any rate, of the truth of this remark as applied to the remoter part of the coast, the lowness of which, calculating on the intervening sphericity of the earth, must have otherwise screened it altogether.

'Ætna, nevertheless, needed no aid from looming to render itself visible, provided, as in this case, the air was very clear. The wonder was, that it should have appeared so distinct and near, and that its bold and majestic profile should have been so

perfectly drawn on the distant horizon. The mountain rose far in the background, and seemed all at once to upheave its gigantic form. To the eye, it looked thrice as high as the coast. Its top and sides were covered with snow. The figure of the mountain was an imperfect cone, rising from a very broad base. The upper line was irregular, declining from west to east, and indented very strikingly in one point, which could hardly be mistaken for the crater. On a part of the eastern front a dark patch was visible, which looked like a huge chasm or precipice. The rest of the mountain, with the exception of the black indenting line of the top, was almost dazzlingly white; for, lying to the north of Malta, the sun shone full upon its hoary steeps. No smoke could be seen, though in periods of great irruption it has been discerned, I understand, even from so vast a distance.

'I have touched upon some of the features of this remote landscape, but to communicate the effect of the spectacle is impossible. It was truly sublime. Every accessory was present to heighten the emotions which it enkindled,—the splendor of the morning, the balmy softness of the air, the profound repose of the sea, and the beauty of the heavens, robed as they were in their richest cerulean hue. The hum of voices from the streets rose in a subdued murmur, to the height of the lofty terrace on which I stood; and birds, some of strange song, but all of great sweetness, poured forth their various melodies.'

After a residence of a few weeks at Malta, Mr. Bigelow took his departure in a Sicilian brigantine for Syracuse, where he arrived the next day. The latter half of the volume is occupied by the observations of the author in Sicily, and is, we think, even more interesting than the former. The following passage contains a description of the Tomb of Archimedes and of the curious grotto called the Ear of Dionysius.

'The road, winding up a gentle slope, at length intersected another, called the Street of Sepulchres, from its leading in a narrow defile between hills faced on either side with ancient tombs. Near the entrance of this passage, and about one hundred yards from the spot traditionally remembered as the place of the Agragian Gate, stands the tomb of Archimedes. The locality agrees very well with the description given of it by Cicero. The ancients were in the habit of burying their dead without the walls of their cities; and the sepulchres of Syracuse came up to its very gates on this quarter. "There is," says the Roman orator, "close by the Agragian port, a vast number of tombs. Examining them with care, I perceived a monument a little elevated above a thicket, whereon was inscribed

the figure of a cylinder and sphere. Immediately I said to the Syracusan nobles who attended me, That this must be the tomb of which I was in search."

'We alighted to take a nearer view of it. In front, is a narrow strip of cultivated, unfenced ground, and just at the entrance, a few brambles and rank weeds are growing. The tomb is excavated from a native bed of rock, the face of which, naturally projecting, is shaped about the opening into a rude Doric front, with pilasters and a pediment. No traces of the inscription are visible, nor is this to be wondered at, for even in the time of Cicero, the characters were partially worn away. The entrance of the tomb is sufficiently high to allow a person of full stature to walk in, without stooping. The interior is of moderate dimensions. It is truly "The dark and narrow house." In a recess on the right, large enough to receive a modern lead coffin, the remains of the philosopher are supposed to have been laid; but the sarcophagus, if any there were, has long since disappeared. On the opposite side, are full-length receptacles for bodies; and fronting the entrance, there are smaller depositories, cut like the others from the solid rock, and adapted for urns, or the coffins of children. The tomb appears to have been the family sepulchre of Archimedes; but the ashes of the human forms, which once filled its niches, have for ages been dispersed to the four winds.

'The hill, at the foot of which this tomb has been opened, is a vast ledge of rock, slightly covered with shrubs and grass. Following the path at its base, I perceived a great many other tombs yawning from its sides, the "magna frequentia sepulchrorum" spoken of by Cicero. The street of sepulchres is fitly named; and the spectacle it offers excites in the bosom a train of solemn emotions. Not one of the tombs, throughout the long-drawn range on either hand, retains the bones or even the dust of its ancient occupants. They are all open, despoiled and empty. We talk of the fidelity of the grave; but what can be more faithless? If not invaded by the hand of cupidity and violence, the elements force open its prison doors, and the ashes committed to its trust are suffered to escape. The tenements of the dead are no more permanent possessions, than those of the living. Neither pyramids, catacombs, nor mausoleums, neither tumuli nor cairns, nor barrows, are secure from intrusion and spoliation. What retreat for the dead could seemingly be more safe than one of these cells hewn from a rock, when the stone, as at the first, was rolled to its mouth, and was sealed and made fast? Yet none of them have proved inviolate; and though the bodies originally consigned to them were thought destined to

rest in their "narrow beds" till the heavens be no more, their decomposed and separated particles have entered into new combinations with innumerable other substances, æriform, vegetable or animal. And many generations of the dead might have been successively accommodated in the self-same spots. The Mole of Adrian, and the Pyramid of Cheops are standing witnesses, that the utmost anxiety and sedulousness of mortals to secure places of undisturbed repose for their ashes, are unavailing; nay, that they are the surest means of defeating the builders' aims. The safest sanctuary of the dead, if any may be called secure, is the lone and forgotten grave of a poor Indian, in the depth of some pathless forest.

'We proceeded to the Latomiæ. The place so denominated is the hollow or bed of an immense quarry, whence the stone is supposed to have been taken for the structures of Syracuse. The first impression which a sight of it produces, is like that of viewing a vast pile of scattered ruins. An eminence of considerable elevation and ample circuit has been hewn down by the excavations, but leaving on most of the sides an irregular line of the native rock, to serve as an impregnable wall to the enclosure. In the area, some insulated masses are seen of the original quarry, one of which is comparatively lofty, and on the top of it a tower was formerly erected. A remnant of a staircase is still visible near the summit. So effectually are the Latomiæ guarded by the lofty natural barricade about them, that in the days of the Syracusan tyrants they were used for a prison. The Athenian army, which surrendered under Nicias, was confined in them, and, according to Diodorus, the sufferings of the captives were so severe, as to make the fate of their brave but unfortunate general, who was barbarously put to death, seem merciful by contrast. This event happened four hundred and thirteen years before the Christian era, and shows the great antiquity of the Latomiæ.

'The famous grotto, called the Ear of Dionysius, makes a part of these extraordinary works; but it has been formed in an angle separate from the main body, and is altogether unique in its plan and style of construction. It is a deep, gloomy cavern, which has been wrought out with amazing ingenuity as well as labor, from very hard rock. The entrance,—through a precipice perfectly steep,—resembles the door-way to some old cathedral. The face of the rock is clothed with luxuriant natural creepers, which would give the opening a romantic appearance, if there were not something in the looks of the cavern-gloom almost awful. We explored its recesses with the light of tapers.

'The ground-plan is sinuous, not unlike the letter S. The

roof is vaulted, approaching the style which architects call pointed, and retaining a certain Gothic feature like the form of the entrance. The surface of the walls was made perfectly smooth, and has undergone no change. The cavern is one hundred and ninety feet in length, measured on a curve line equi-distant from the sides. In width it varies from twenty-four to thirty-six feet, and in height from sixty to seventy. It terminates in an elliptical bend. About half way up the cavern on the right, there is an opening to a smaller grotto. Its area is about one tenth of the outer one, and the height of the walls thirty feet. The communication is by a passage rather broad, but it might be barricaded; and if the popular notion be correct, that the Ear of Dionysius was built by the tyrant for a prison, this smaller apartment might have served as the inner ward,—a dungeon doubly guarded.

'Extraordinary as is the height of the main cavern, it was originally greater. There has been a gradual filling up of the bottom by the wash of earth, leaves, and pebbles from without, but to what depth is not ascertained. Near the top of the cavern, on the right of the entrance, is a small chamber. The opening is in the external front of the rock. Whether a secret passage formerly led to it is not known, but at present it is inaccessible, unless by ladders, or ropes let down from the brink of the precipice. Between the chamber and the cavern, a hole was formerly bored, by order, it is said, of Dionysius, who, according to the legend, used to station himself in the little apartment, for the purpose of hearing the conversation which passed among his prisoners. The tympanum, or focus of sound, was just opposite the chamber. I observed a singular groove in the roof of the rock, running from that point the entire length of the cavern. It is cut with great regularity and smoothness. Its course is not level, but it waves or undulates along the roof, preserving at the same time a reference in its line of direction to the curving sides of the grotto. This groove is supposed to have been contrived as a conductor of sound. The cavern itself is constructed on a plan generally analogous to the form and symmetry of the human ear, and thence has been derived its immemorial appellation.

'Its echo is astonishing. The faintest whisper may be heard in any part of it. In common conversation, the sound of the voice comes back in heavy intonations. We tried, in several ways, the reverberative power. A paper was gently torn by one of the gentlemen at the upper extremity of the cave, and notwithstanding the extent and sinuosity of the passage, the sound was plainly heard by the others standing without the entrance. A pistol was fired, and the report was like the discharge of an eight-and-forty pounder.

'There is no doubt that the cavern was specially formed for conducting and augmenting sound; but whether it was contrived to enable the cruel tyrant who has the merit of planning it, to hear from his secret apartment the conversation of his prisoners, has been doubted. It is alleged in disproof, that if two or more voices speak at the same time, only a confused clamor is produced. This, which is true below, might not have happened,—at least so sensibly as to be an inconvenience,—to an ear placed at the orifice in the watch-chamber. The tyrant may have been in the habit of only imprisoning a very few subjects at once, and those of whom he was most suspicious; and as they would not be likely always to speak at the same time, and any two, at least, would naturally converse without mutual interruption, enough might be easily gathered by the royal eaves-dropper to help him make up his mind respecting his prisoners' characters, plans or dispositions. Long concurrent tradition, in the absence of positive testimony of a contrary nature, should have considerable weight in determining what the objects of the projector of the cavern really were. Those who deny the vulgar opinion admit, that in remote times the cave was used as a prison; but they assert that it was only appropriated as a receptable for the dregs of the Sicilian populace.'

In attempting to ascend Mount Ætna, Mr. Bigelow, partly from the severity of the weather, and partly from the treachery of a cowardly guide, was exposed to a good deal of personal danger. His account of the matter constitutes one of the most interesting episodes in the work.

'We came next to the Regione Nemorosa, whose belt of forests, several miles in width, girdles the entire circumference of the mountain. Here the snow began to annoy us, deepening as we ascended. In one of the several bad plunges, I was flung from the mule, the girths of the saddle, which were none of the stoutest, being broken by the efforts of the animal to recover his footing. The path wound up through volcanic hills, each marking the site of former eruptions, most of which occurred in periods so very remote, that their eras can only be conjectured. At length, we reached the shelter in the forest described in my hasty notes of the morning, and which, from the condition in which we found it, may be appropriately called Casa delle neve, a hut of snow. It is situated eight miles above Nicolosi, and hard by the upper boundary of the old wood. Having led in our mules, we left them tied, and departed at three o'clock upon our adventures, on foot.

'The atmosphere was more gloomy. The clouds, which had

continued to accumulate, had a mischief-boding aspect. The mountain-top was hid. The moon, sometimes peering through a rent in the lowering sky, threw a fitful gleam along our track. Quitting the forest, we began to traverse the Regione Discoperta, or third zone of the mountain,—a district, which takes its name from its prevalent bareness and sterility, and where, in mid-summer, only a few feeble plants contrive to root themselves and find a scanty nourishment. But at present, every vestige of such partial and scattered vegetation was totally hid with snows. Above the white covering which spread itself over all this upper division of the mountain, precipices of lava in various places lifted their black pinnacles. An active imagination might have traced in some of them, a resemblance to the minarets of a half-buried mosque. As we advanced, peak rose above peak. The mountain seemingly receded; and its blasts, now high, which swept down upon us, appeared determined to forbid and repel every effort to reach its burning throne.

'The sky in the east "loomed" a little as morning broke, and the hour of sunrise approached. The horizon was streaked with dusky red. The landscape gradually opened, and I could look down from the sublime height which I had gained, on the earth and sea, far, far below. But again the heavens were overcast. The transient hues of the morning sky were veiled with portentous clouds; and above, nothing was seen but deep, thick, murky haze.

'Walking became difficult. My feet sunk in the snows several inches every step; and sometimes I was obliged to wade in them knee-deep. Filippo was the first to lag. Once he was nearly buried in a pit-fall, which was screened with loose snows, into which he unwarily stepped.—Still we proceeded. The wind had already for an hour been drifting upon us snows from above; and now the clouds began to shower them abundantly, with occasional hail, which drove keenly against our faces. Our progress was more impeded; and it was not without danger, as many precipices were only masked by the snows, down which, by a single mis-step, we might be fatally plunged. The guide murmured; and Filippo began to remonstrate against the further prosecution of the enterprise. But I was desirous of advancing to the utmost attainable point; it was not reached yet. The present was my only opportunity of climbing the mountain; and the proverb applied to Corinth, "non cuivis contigit adire," was true in respect to Ætna. Besides, I did not apprehend any serious personal risk. The very violence of the storm made me think it would ere long blow over. For it had the signs of a fierce snow-squall, such as some-

times happens in a New England winter, the vehemence of which seldom admits of a long duration. And if, from premature discouragement, I should retreat before the blasts, and the sky should afterwards clear, it would then be too fatiguing to recover the ground once abandoned; and to have relinquished it under such circumstances, would be mortifying ever after to remember. Inconveniences there certainly were, but with them I laid my account in the outset; and as for a snow-storm, even a bad one, any American, born north of "Mason's and Dixon's Line," must know something of its power, and be willing for a favorite object to encounter it.

'With Filippo I one while expostulated and reasoned, then laughed at what I called his ridiculous fears, and said he ought to be ashamed not to hold out as long as I could. This carried him on a little further; but he dropped behind, and finally sunk down under the shelter of a crag of lava. When or where he stopped, I knew not at the time, being occupied with the labor of pushing my own upward way. The wind became so violent that, if I paused to breathe, unless taking considerable precaution, I was blown several paces down the steep.

'The guide after a while was very clamorous. He pointed significantly to the quarter whither we were going; and true enough, it was not possible to lift, or at least, to keep one's face in that direction beyond a moment, so great was the power of the tempest. Still, I employed similar remonstrances and representations with him which I had unsuccessfully resorted to with Filippo, to induce him to wait the issue, or rather the signs, of the storm a little longer. He was reminded of what I had myself seen from Syracuse and Catanea, that the top of the mountain would be sometimes covered with deep clouds in a morning, and that before noon they would be all dispersed. The like might happen now. But, no,—he maintained; the present was a settled and furious storm. And as he continued to expatiate, the broken expressions—"Che terribile tempésta!—Grándina,—névica prodigiosaménte;—Accidenti funesti;—Siámo morti;—Atra, atra tempésta,"—all implying the energy of the tempest, and his fears of its effects,—these, and others were imperfectly heard, amid the howling of the winds. "Básta; paziénza. Bisógna ésser' ardito; che aspettiámo?"—(Enough of this; cheer up and come on,)—said I. "Cosi siá, Signor,"—(so be it,) he replied,—intimating his consent to wait the weather a few minutes longer. But there was a sulkiness in his acquiescence, which I did not relish. To encourage him and not doubting his fidelity, whatever were his wishes, I turned and led the way. He followed. Having proceeded some distance,

I looked back and beheld, with astonishment, the fellow running down the mountain. At first, I thought it a mere device to make me desist from further attempts to ascend, and to frighten me into a retreat; for I could not believe, that he meant to desert me altogether. I called to him to stop. It availed not. I ran after him. He only redoubled his pace, and darted downwards with the speed of an Indian. In a few moments more, he was out of sight. Once, shortly after, in an effort to overtake him, I faintly descried his figure through the storm, as he was pursuing his flight; but it was a transient glimpse and he was gone.—There was a spice of treachery in this. The fellow had fled, cowardly fled, giving me at the time no warning of his intention, or the chance of escape by keeping him in view, if the descent had become at length indispensable. But be that as it may, my own situation was none the better, and a more critical one may not easily be imagined. I was alone, far up on a mountain difficult of access in the most favorable circumstances, but now clothed with snows and beset with tempests. Miles intervened between me and that hut I had left in the forest below. If I looked downwards, I could see nothing but the raging of the storm; and if I turned an eye to the cliffs on either side, I beheld whole banks of snow uplifted and blown through the air, filling and darkening it, along with the sleety showers then falling from the clouds. The scene was, indeed, tremendous. The atmosphere had assumed a character of inexpressible wildness. It seemed as if the skies were wrecked, and every thing around were participating in the mighty ruin.—My apprehensions were, that I should be so completely overtaken with the quantities of descending and drifting snows, as to be soon unable to proceed, and that perish I must amid their accumulating masses. The thought of this, not the most welcome, glanced through my mind, when the guide had finally vanished. I looked on his receding form, with the sensations that a mariner, lost overboard in a gale, must view the ship whence he was precipitated, holding on her course, nor proffering him the least assistance to give him a rescue from impending death.

'But the exigency called for action. I made what haste I could in descending, sometimes almost buried in heaps of snow, at others slipping on a glacier which was only slightly covered, and sliding rapidly downwards till stopped by a crag or ridge. I was encouraged by the recollection, that I had taken a pocket-compass from Nicolosi; and it occurred to me, that if the storm should abate, or my strength hold out till reaching the forest, I could, with the general impression which I had of the bearing of Catanea and the villages this side, on the skirt of Ætna, find

my way to some shelter. As for the hovel in the woods, I entertained no hope of reaching it; and in respect to Filippo and the renegade guide, I dreamed not of seeing them again upon the mountain. But how slender the former hope! How many intervening dangers from precipices and pitfalls,—from the fury of the storm, and the fast deepening snows;—and if the forest could be gained, as no house was there, would my remaining vigor enable me in season to thread a passage through it? Weighing well the circumstances, I was soon convinced of one thing, that the effort at precipitate haste in descending would be unwise, by causing a premature waste of strength, exclusive of the greater perils which it might occasion by falls and other accidents; and I resolved to proceed with the requisite caution, leaving the event to the disposal of that power whose presence is always nigh, and whose arm was competent to screen from the "windy storm and tempest."

'So near as I could judge, twenty-five minutes had elapsed after the flight of the guide,—and a much longer time it seemed,—when, pursuing my course, I heard on my right and from a point quite aside from the route I was then taking, a call, which was almost overpowered by the storm. I could see no one. The hail was repeated, and I immediately turned in its direction. It was the voice of Filippo. When I reached the spot, he was in a narrow cleft at the foot of two steep ridges of the mountain, between which I had gone on the ascent; but I had forgotten the track, and there were no marks of footsteps to show it, for the prints were obliterated almost as soon as made. The fellow was covered,—face, dress, every thing,—with ice and snow, so that in color he was scarcely distinguishable from the drifts in which he stood. He had discerned my person, in consequence of the snows having been pretty effectually shaken off in the rough falls which had been encountered; and when seen, I was walking in a path elevated to his eye, at a moment when the thickness of the weather happened just transiently to abate. In general, during the tempest, an object could not be seen fifty paces distant. Filippo was evidently so exhausted, that I was willing to forgive his desertion. But the conduct of the guide I regarded very differently. And there the recreant stood, stationed near to Filippo,—one moment looking doubtingly at me,—then casting a glance up the mountain, and next turning it aside, as though eager to resume his downward run.'

At Messina Mr. Bigelow was received with much kindness by the Consul, Mr. Payson, and his amiable family. In describing his excursions in the neighborhood of this city, our

author introduces a curious dissertation on the present appearance of the Straits of Messina and of the celebrated Rock and Whirlpool, which were anciently supposed to render them one of the most dangerous passages in the world. We venture to extract a part of his remarks on this subject.

'Yesterday, I made an excursion with some friends to the Faro Point. It is situated seven or eight miles to the north of Messina. Near the Point is a small village. Its position, which is its only recommendation, is very fine. The country back of it is exceedingly fruitful, particularly in vines; and it presents a most pleasing aspect. The Rock of Scylla is distant just three miles and two fifths from the Faro. They are not the two nearest parts of Calabria and Sicily. About midway between Messina and the Point, the channel is narrowed to the bare breadth of two miles and a third. Scylla is a naked gray rock, rising something in the form of a tower, lofty only in proportion to the base. It has a castle on the top. The crag projects, or rather juts, from the shore, with which it is united by a short, sandy isthmus. Unquestionably, it would be a bad mark for a ship to fetch up against; but not worse than a thousand other rocks, points, bluffs and headlands, on numerous other shores. I surveyed it with a good glass, and saw nothing in its appearance, or in the neighborhood, particularly remarkable.

'But from the earliest period of history, Scylla has been considered a rock of peculiar peril. Are we to discredit all the accounts of the ancients? Or have the phenomena of the Straits, —the Faro di Messina,—been essentially modified and changed in later times, so as to reduce the dangers of navigation? To answer these inquiries, it will be necessary to look to other matters in connexion.

'We must bear in mind, that the horrors ascribed to Scylla rest mainly on the authority of the ancient poets; and they have been quite as liberal, in the terrific attributes which they have assigned to Charybdis. The proverb,

"Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdim,"

—he dashes on Scylla, who strives to shun Charybdis,—was intended to imply, that the accident might be reciprocal, and that the peril of both was most appalling. It is true, a very few of the graver historians of antiquity,—among them, Strabo and Sallust,—coincided in part with the poets, in their descriptions of the Rock and Whirlpool. But they were willing, perhaps, to swim with the current, and to take up on credit what had been so often and confidently asserted; and, after all, their ac-

counts are moderate in comparison with the representations of bards, such as Ovid, Lucretius, Virgil and Homer. Now, every one understands what is meant by "poetic license." Fiction and exaggeration are the special privileges of the Muse; and to reduce the statements of her scribes to sober truth, we must begin with making a very heavy discount.

'Charybdis, from its proximity to Messina, I have had a better opportunity of observing, than, as yet, has been offered me of Scylla. It lies only a furlong from the shore, abreast of the right arm, or horn, of the harbor. I have looked at it both before and since my ride to the Faro, have watched the movement and set of the currents, and examined, with some attention, the form and aspect of the neighboring shores. I was desirous of ascertaining, whether the present appearance of things corresponds with what was reported by the ancients; or, if different, whether there be circumstances, which render it probable that natural causes, operating through a series of ages, have effected any, or a material, alteration. The weather having been uninterruptedly serene, it has not been my good fortune to witness the action of the waves, eddies and currents, as they are exhibited during a storm; but I have gathered satisfactory information from those, to whom the spectacle is familiar. Taking into view all circumstances, the result is a full impression in my mind, not only that the phenomena of the Straits remain substantially as they existed in the earliest historic age, but that the terrors ascribed to the navigation of this celebrated Pass,—whether from the main currents, or the collateral agencies of Scylla and Charybdis,—if not solely the creatures of poetic fancy, have much the character of that species of trumpery. This may appear a bold conclusion, in the eyes of the partisan disciples of the Homeric school; it remains for me to show, that if bold, it is defensible.

'Homer, who set the tune to which so many have chimed, represents Scylla as a sublime cloud-piercing cliff, hiding its head by its very loftiness in a region of perpetual mists.—It is a rock two hundred feet high, on which, during each of the three days I have been in sight of it, the sun has shone with merry beams, and its form and mass show incontestably that no changes in nature could affect or diminish it, other than what would wear down the "everlasting hills." Homer describes the sides of Scylla as so steep and slippery, that no mortal could climb them, "though borne by twenty feet, though armed with twenty hands."—A small fortress is erected on the summit; and from its walls on the south, a village begins, which extends to its base and stretches along the neck of land connecting it

with the continent, a part of the buildings of which are visible from Messina. Homer speaks of Charybdis as close to Scylla, and overlooked by it.

> "Beneath, Charybdis holds her boisterous reign
> 'Midst roaring whirlpools, and absorbs the main."

—I have said that the latter is just outside of the port of Messina. Its centre, in a water-line, cannot be less than eight or nine miles from the Poet's Rock. And how can this be explained by Homer's mensuration of the space, who compares it to an arrow's flight? Charybdis is not even opposite to Scylla. It lies in a slanting line, further to the south. But, its position has changed since times of yore?—Thucydides, who wrote more than four hundred years before the Christian era, places it between Messina and Rhegium, just where it now is; and Strabo affirms that it is situated a little in front of Messina,—μικρὸν προ της πόλεως. In fact, Charybdis, in its relation to those two places, makes the apex of a triangle, the base of which runs from Scylla to Reggio. As on this point, the poet and historian are completely at issue, the inquirer after plain, sober truth can be at no loss to whom he shall award his confidence. Again, the only navigable part of the Straits, according to Homer, Virgil and others, not only ran directly between the Rock and Whirlpool, but it was the narrowest possible pass, even in reference to such small galleys as their heroes respectively sailed in.—Modern navigators find the channel, where most confined, to be more than two miles wide; and the distance from Rock to Gulf is computed at full three leagues.'

The subject is pursued at considerably greater length, but we have not room to quote the remainder of the passage. At Messina our author embarked for Naples, and at this point he closes the present narrative. His visit to the continent has doubtless supplied him with copious materials for future works, which we hope, on some other occasion, to have the pleasure of introducing to the reader's notice.

NOTE.

We have recently seen a Catalogue of books, now in possession of Mr. Warden, of Paris, entitled 'BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA, being a choice collection of Books relating to North and South America, and the West Indies, including Voyages to the Southern Hemisphere, Maps, Engravings, and Medals.' The whole number of volumes embraced in the Catalogue, amounts to about eighteen hundred. They relate almost entirely to America, and a large portion of them to the United States. The works on the recent history of South America are also numerous, and particularly valuable. Mr. Warden, we believe, has collected them in aid of his literary labors, as one of the conductors of that inestimable work, '*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.*' The volumes, rich with facts, detailing the modern events in South America, are understood to be from his pen. For this object, he has been induced to seek for the best materials, and they are now retained in his Library. Mr. Warden's long residence in Paris, his devotedness to American history and antiquities, and his opportunities of knowledge, have enabled him to procure many works of rare interest and value relating to this country, which would require many years of fruitless research, in the common mode of ordering books from abroad.

In this Catalogue are the titles of several works concerning America, which are not to be found in any of our public libraries, not even in that of Harvard College, by far the amplest depository of this class of books that exists in the world, enriched as it has been from various sources, and particularly Mr. Warden's former American library, obtained through the munificence of Mr. Samuel A. Eliot. Mr. Warden proposes likewise to sell his present library of books on America, and an opportunity is now offered to the literary institutions and library companies of the United States, which may seldom or never occur again.

ERRATA.—The reader is requested to correct the following errors in the Article on the North-Eastern Boundary, in the last Number. Page 514, first paragraph, for 'petty,' read *treaty*. Page 522, line 17, for '*mouth*,' read *north*. Page 525, line 7 from bottom, for '*north* and northwest,' read *west* and northwest. Page 539, line 12 from bottom, for 'transformed,' read *transferred*.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LXXVII.

OCTOBER, 1832.

ART. I.—*Irving's Alhambra.*

The Alhambra; a Series of Tales and Sketches of the Moors and Spaniards. By the AUTHOR of the Sketch Book. 2 vols., 12mo. Philadelphia, 1832.

Our last notice of Mr. Irving was taken on the occasion of the publication of the History of Columbus. This was the first and richest fruit of his researches in Spain. We have since been successively presented with the Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada, the History of the Voyages of the Companions of Columbus, and the work before us. The general favor with which these productions have all been received, both at home and abroad, and the great notoriety which the name of the author has now attained, render it superfluous for us to dwell particularly upon the character and contents of each. But we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of bearing our humble part in the cordial welcome, with which the unanimous voice of the country is now greeting the distinguished pilgrim on his return from abroad.

The first works which Mr. Irving published, after his visit to Spain, had no immediate connexion with his own residence there, except that by composing them upon the spot where the scenes are laid, he had access to materials which he could not otherwise have consulted. They were drawn chiefly from ancient documents, either printed or man-

uscript, and afforded the author but little opportunity for turning to account his own observations on the present state of Spain and the Spaniards. It was natural, however, to suppose that so accurate and attentive an observer of men and nature would not have passed so long a time in the midst of scenes so remote from the common track of travellers, without bringing away a rich treasure of notes and recollections. The account of his excursion from Seville to Palos and the Convent of La Rabida, which was appended to the History of the Companions of Columbus, gave a foretaste of what we might expect in this way, and the present work justifies the expectations which that charming little sketch was fitted to raise. Even this work is, we trust, only a forerunner to others of the same class. It is, in fact, confined to a single point in the author's Spanish travels, being devoted entirely to a description of his journey from Seville to Granada, and a record of his domestic adventures and poetical musings among the ruins of the ancient palace of the Alhambra, which constitute the principal curiosity of that city. There are various other scenes in the track which Mr. Irving pursued in Spain, not inferior either in natural beauties or historical associations to Granada, and which would afford an equally favorable canvass for the embroidery of his brilliant and many-colored sketches. From the mountain capital of Toledo, where Roderic, the last of the Goths, beheld, in the magic mirror of black marble, prophetic images of the future fortunes of his country, to the Pillars of Hercules on the one hand and the passes of Fontarabia and Perpignan on the other, the whole Peninsula is peopled, as it were, with historical and poetical memorials.

At the point of time when history first throws a clear light on the course of past events, we find Iberia employed by the two great rival republics of that day, as the field upon which they contended for the empire of the world. The genius of Rome prevailed, but had scarcely begun to repose from the toils of conquest, when the political fabric, which it had cost the persevering exertion of a thousand years to erect, crumbled into fragments. During the convulsive struggles of the following period, the Peninsula became again the great battle-ground of the ancient world. Two distinct races of men, one issuing from the frozen recesses of the North, and the other from the burning deserts of Arabia and Ethiopia, met upon

the plains of Castile and rushed into conflict, with a fury proportional to the lofty semi-barbarous spirit and fanatical enthusiasm of both. In this encounter the advantage remained, for a long time at least, on the side of Africa. The Moors overran the whole Peninsula, except the fastnesses of the Asturian mountains, founded kingdoms in all quarters, and maintained their position for more than seven hundred years. It was not, in fact, until they had become enervated by a long career of refinement and luxury, that the hardier Goths succeeded in dislodging them from their splendid cities, and exiling them again to the Libyan deserts from which their ancestors proceeded.

The period of the Moorish ascendancy is, perhaps, the most interesting in the annals of Spain, and would furnish a fit subject for a more methodical, extensive and elaborate historical description, than has yet been given of it in any language. With little pretensions to the sound judgment, and strong practical sense, which have enabled their northern rivals to establish systems of polity on broad and durable foundations, the Moors exhibited a dauntless bravery, a high sense of honor, a wild vigor of imagination, and an elegance of taste, which throw a vivid poetical light over the course of their adventures. While under their sway, Spain was undoubtedly the most highly civilized portion of Europe. The schools of Cordova were the fountains of science, and the courts of Seville and Granada the standards of art and fashion, for all the West. The most illustrious of the Gothic warriors is known to us by the title of honor, which was awarded to him by the generous admiration of his enemies. Under the immediate successors of the Moorish Princes, Spain still retained her commanding position in the Commonwealth of Europe. From the period of the conquest of Granada till the close of the religious wars, she was at the head of the policy, the learning and the arts of Christendom, and took the lead in extending them over the newfound regions of Asia and America. It is only within the last two centuries, that, under the government of a new race of sluggard kings, she has gradually sunk from her high estate, forfeited her pre-eminence in arts and arms, and having finally lost her immense colonial possessions, that still gave her, even after she was deprived of every other element of power, an unnatural importance, seems to be fast reaching the

condition of hopeless decrepitude and 'mere oblivion,' which, with nations as with individuals, form the

> ———last scene of all
> That ends this strange eventful history.

This long and interesting series of events has, however, —as we have already remarked,—in a manner, covered the whole surface of the Peninsula with poetical and historical memorials, and connected the name of every mountain, river, hill and valley with some great character, or extraordinary incident. The monuments that indicate the successive predominance of different and hostile races often stand in the immediate neighborhood of each other, like the tombs of adverse statesmen, who, after a long life of contention for place and influence, repose at last, side by side, in the same common cemetery. At Segovia, for example, the traveller finds grouped together, within a distance of one or two miles, a Gothic Cathedral, a Moorish Alcazar, or Palace, and a Roman Aqueduct; all in complete preservation, and among the finest specimens of their respective styles of construction, existing in Europe. While these magnificent works attest the former grandeur and wealth of the city,—once a royal residence and one of the principal seats of manufactures, —a few hundred wretched hovels collected around them, which seem to be crumbling to atoms with neglect and age, sufficiently prove the extent of its present decay. Such is the case throughout all Spain.

This air of desolation, which characterizes the whole face of the country, gives a sort of relief to the antiquarian monuments with which it is covered, and adds new interest to the historical and poetical associations connected with them. It is only, in fact, under such circumstances, that scenes and associations of this description produce their true effect. Where the business of life is in full activity, in all its various branches of politics, traffic, arts and war, the mind is too much distracted with present interests, to devote its attention very seriously to any others. It is only when we leave the seats of these agonizing struggles, and thus escape, for a time, from their influence, that we begin to brood with undivided intensity of thought and feeling upon the memory of the past, and the mysterious promise of the future. Hence, the poet, who finds his element in such contemplations, wanders about 'amid the crowd, the hum, the shock of men,' like

a stranger; but breathes more freely, and feels himself at home, and at ease, upon the trackless waste of the ocean, amid the vast forests, and beside the unexplored rivers of a new continent, or in scenes where solitude and silence spread their melancholy pall over the mouldering monuments of departed greatness and beauty.

Mr. Irving, who possesses the true poetical temperament, must therefore have found, in every part of the Spanish Peninsula, abundant materials for his sketches; and we may confidently anticipate that other collections will follow that with which he has now favored us. It is hardly reasonable, however, to call upon him for more works, before we have fairly noticed this; and we therefore hasten, without farther preface, to the immediate subject of the present article.

The work before us contains, as we have already remarked, a description of the author's journey from Seville to Granada, and an account of his residence in the Alhambra, interspersed with some of the legends of love and war, of hidden treasures, magic spells, and spectral apparitions, in which the Arabians took so much delight, and which are still current, wherever they were established. The dedication is addressed to Mr. Wilkie, the *facile princeps* of the present race of British painters, who visited Spain during Mr. Irving's residence there, and accompanied him on some of his excursions. The amiable character and unaffectedly cordial manner of this eminent artist naturally invited a compliment, which his high talents and reputation so well justify.* The expedition, which forms the subject of the work, was undertaken by Mr. Irving in company with a fellow-traveller, of whom he speaks in the following terms.

'In the spring of 1829, the author of this work, whom curiosity had brought into Spain, made a rambling expedition from Seville to Granada, in company with a friend, a member of the Russian embassy at Madrid. Accident had thrown us together from distant regions of the globe, and a similarity of taste led us to wan-

*In representing Wilkie as the prince of British painters, we of course do not include among them our distinguished countrymen, Allston, Leslie, and Newton. These are all, like Wilkie, artists of the first class; and it is not for us to undertake to settle their respective claims to precedence, as compared with him, or among themselves. We are glad to learn that Newton is at length turning his thoughts homeward, and that, at some not very distant period, he may probably be induced to fix his residence among us.

der together among the romantic mountains of Andalusia Should these pages meet his eye, wherever thrown by the duties of his station, whether mingling in the pageantry of courts or meditating on the truer glories of nature, may they recall the scenes of our adventurous companionship, and with them the remembrance of one, in whom neither time nor distance will obliterate the recollection of his gentleness and worth.'

We are informed that the person here alluded to is Prince Dolgorûky, a young member of the great Russian family of that name, justly esteemed by all who have had the pleasure of his acquaintance, for his agreeable manners, and highly cultivated mind. He has since been advanced to the place of Chargé d'Affaires of his government at the Hague; and will doubtless become one of the political and literary ornaments of his country. It was certainly a singular combination of chances, which brought a Sclavonian nobleman from the heart of Muscovy, and an English poet from the shores of the New World, to dwell together in peaceable companionship, though only for a few weeks, in a Moorish palace, situated in the centre of Christian Spain. Mr. Irving, with reference to himself alone, describes the event as the accomplishment of one of the cherished dreams of his childish fancy.

'I tread haunted ground, and am surrounded by romantic associations. From earliest boyhood, when, on the banks of the Hudson, I first pored over the pages of an old Spanish story about the wars of Granada, that city has ever been a subject of my waking dreams, and often have I trod in fancy the romantic halls of the Alhambra. Behold for once a day-dream realized; yet I can scarcely credit my senses, or believe that I do indeed inhabit the palace of Boabdil, and look down from its balconies upon chivalric Granada. As I loiter through the oriental chambers, and hear the murmuring of fountains and the song of the nightingale: as I inhale the odor of the rose, and feel the influence of the balmy climate, I am almost tempted to fancy myself in the Paradise of Mahomet, and that the plump little Dolores is one of the bright-eyed Houris, destined to administer to the happiness of true believers.'

The introductory chapter, which narrates the events of the journey from Seville to Granada, is one of the most agreeable in the book. In general, we think that Mr. Irving's style is more nervous and spirited, when he is employed in embellishing facts that have come within his own observation, than

when he attempts a wholly fictitious narrative. There is great truth in the remarks at the commencement on the general characteristics of the Spanish landscape. Those persons who have gone to Spain,—as has doubtless happened with many travellers,—in the expectation of finding in so southerly a climate something like the rich luxuriance of tropical vegetation, must have been sadly disappointed by the stern and sombre reality. The soil of Spain is elevated and rocky, and the great heat, which, in a low and moist country, would stimulate vegetation, produces, by increasing the dryness, an opposite effect. The mountains of Guipuscoa and Biscay are thinly covered with pines; but as the traveller advances into the country, they gradually disappear, and on the vast central plateau of Old and New Castile, there is hardly a tree to be seen. In and about Madrid, there are a few public walks planted with trees; but such of them as are not situated immediately on the banks of the river, require to be watered every day during the hot season. The beautiful valley of Aranjuez, in which the waters of the Jarama meet with those of the Tagus, and which is laid out in ornamental grounds for the purpose of a royal residence, is almost the only spot in the Peninsula, where vegetation assumes a really flourishing and palmy state. Even on the banks of the Guadalquivir, where the country is comparatively low and moist, there is nothing like the exuberant richness of the American forest. The same causes which check vegetation, make the rivers shallow and scanty. In summer, many of them are reduced to a few threads of water, working their way painfully through intervening beds of sand. Such is the case with the Manzanares, on the banks of which the capital is situated; and an English writer of high pretensions positively affirms, that when the late queen made her *entrée* into the city, the bed of the river was watered, that her majesty might not be incommoded with the dust.* But of this, notwithstanding the authority of Mr. Ward, and the well-known veracity of all British travellers, we must be permitted to doubt. However this may be, the stranger, who has been accustomed to the freshness of a

* Mr. Ward, lately Chargé d' Affairés of Great Britain in Mexico, who makes this statement in a note to his work upon that country. The road from France by which the queen entered Madrid does not approach the river.

more genial climate, is often tempted to exclaim, in the language of the Latin poet,

——O qui me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi
Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!

The absence of trees and the dry and rocky nature of the soil, to which we have now alluded, appear to be the principal causes of the sombre and monotonous character of the landscape, which is so well described in the following extract.

'Before setting forth, let me indulge in a few previous remarks on Spanish scenery and Spanish travelling. Many are apt to picture Spain to their imaginations as a soft southern region, decked out with all the luxuriant charms of voluptuous Italy. On the contrary, though there are exceptions in some of the maritime provinces, yet, for the greater part, it is a stern, melancholy country, with rugged mountains and long, naked, sweeping plains, destitute of trees, and invariably silent and lonesome, partaking of the savage and solitary character of Africa. What adds to this silence and loneliness, is the absence of singing birds, a natural consequence of the want of groves and hedges. The vulture and the eagle are seen wheeling about the mountain-cliffs and soaring over the plains, and groups of shy bustards stalk about the heaths; but the myriads of smaller birds, which animate the whole face of other countries, are met with in but few provinces of Spain, and in them chiefly among the orchards and gardens which surround the habitations of man.

'In the exterior provinces, the traveller occasionally traverses great tracts cultivated with grain as far as the eye can reach, waving at times with verdure, at other times naked and sunburnt; but he looks round in vain for the hand that has tilled the soil; at length he perceives some village perched on a steep hill, or rugged crag, with mouldering battlements and ruined watch-tower; a strong-hold, in old times, against civil war or Moorish inroad; for the custom among the peasantry of congregating together for mutual protection, is still kept up in most parts of Spain, in consequence of the maraudings of roving freebooters.

'But though a great part of Spain is deficient in the garniture of groves and forests, and the softer charms of ornamental cultivation, yet its scenery has something of a high and lofty character to compensate the want. It partakes something of the attributes of its people, and I think that I better understand the proud, hardy, frugal and abstemious Spaniard, his manly defiance

of hardships, and contempt of effeminate indulgences, since I have seen the country he inhabits.

'There is something, too, in the sternly simple features of the Spanish landscape, that impresses on the soul a feeling of sublimity. The immense plains of the Castiles and La Mancha, extending as far as the eye can reach, derive an interest from their very nakedness and immensity, and have something of the solemn grandeur of the ocean. In ranging over these boundless wastes, the eye catches sight, here and there, of a straggling herd of cattle attended by a lonely herdsman, motionless as a statue, with his long slender pike tapering up like a lance into the air; or beholds a long train of mules slowly moving along the waste, like a train of camels in a desert, or a single herdsman, armed with blunderbuss and stiletto, and prowling over the plain. Thus, the country, the habits, the very looks of the people, have something of the Arabian character. The general insecurity of the country is evinced in the universal use of weapons. The herdsman in the field, the shepherd in the plain, has his musket and his knife. The wealthy villager rarely ventures to the market-town without his trabucho, and, perhaps, a servant on foot with a blunderbuss on his shoulder; and the most petty journey is undertaken with the preparations of a warlike enterprise.

'The dangers of the road produce, also, a mode of travelling, resembling, on a diminutive scale, the caravans of the East. The arrieros or carriers congregate in troops, and set off in large and well-armed trains on appointed days, while individual travellers swell their number, and contribute to their strength. In this primitive way is the commerce of the country carried on. The muleteer is the general medium of traffic, and the legitimate wanderer of the land, traversing the Peninsula from the Pyrenees and the Asturias, to the Alpuxarras, the Serrania de Ronda, and even to the gates of Gibraltar. He lives frugally and hardily; his alforjas (or saddle-bags,) of coarse cloth hold his scanty stock of provisions; a leathern bottle hanging at his saddle-bow contains wine or water for a supply across barren mountains and thirsty plains; a mule-cloth spread upon the ground is his bed at night, and his pack-saddle is his pillow. His low but clear-limbed and sinewy form betokens strength; his complexion is dark and sun-burnt; his eye resolute, but quiet in its expression, except when kindled by sudden emotion; his demeanor is frank, manly, and courteous, and he never passes you without a grave salutation—"Dios guarda à usted!"—"Vay usted con Dios caballero!"—"God guard you!"—"God be with you, cavalier!"

'As these men have often their whole fortune at stake upon

the burden of their mules, they have their weapons at hand, slung to their saddles, and ready to be snatched down for desperate defence. But their united numbers render them secure against petty bands of marauders; and the solitary bandalero, armed to the teeth, and mounted on his Andalusian steed, hovers about them, like a pirate about a merchant convoy, without daring to make an assault.

'The Spanish muleteer has an inexhaustible stock of songs and ballads, with which to beguile his incessant way-faring. The airs are rude and simple, consisting of but few inflexions. These he chants forth with a loud voice, and long drawling cadence, seated sideways on his mule, who seems to listen with infinite gravity, and to keep time with his paces, to the tune. The couplets thus chanted are often old traditional romances about the Moors; or some legend of a saint; or some love ditty; or, what is still more frequent, some ballad about a bold contrabandista, or hardy bandalero; for the smuggler and the robber are poetical heroes among the common people of Spain. Often the song of the muleteer is composed at the instant, and relates to some local scene, or some incident of the journey. This talent of singing and improvising is frequent in Spain, and is said to have been inherited from the Moors. There is something wildly pleasing in listening to these ditties among the rude and lonely scenes they illustrate, accompanied as they are, by the occasional jingle of the mule-bell.

'It has a most picturesque effect, also, to meet a train of muleteers in some mountain pass. First you hear the bells of the leading mules, breaking with their simple melody the stillness of the airy height; or, perhaps, the voice of the muleteer admonishing some tardy or wandering animal, or chanting, at the full stretch of his lungs, some traditionary ballad. At length you see the mules slowly winding along the craggy defile, sometimes descending precipitous cliffs, so as to present themselves in full relief against the sky, sometimes toiling up the deep arid chasms below you. As they approach, you descry their gay decorations of worsted tufts, tassels, and saddle-cloths; while, as they pass by, the ever ready trabucho, slung behind their packs and saddles, gives a hint of the insecurity of the road.

'The ancient kingdom of Granada, into which we are about to penetrate, is one of the most mountainous regions of Spain. Vast sierras or chains of mountains, destitute of shrub or tree, and mottled with variegated marbles and granites, elevate their sun-burnt summits against a deep blue sky, yet in their rugged bosoms lie engulfed the most verdant and fertile valleys, where the desert and the garden strive for mastery, and the very rock,

as it were, is compelled to yield the fig, the orange, and the citron, and to blossom with the myrtle and the rose.

'In the wild passes of these mountains, the sight of walled towns and villages, built like eagles' nests among the cliffs, and surrounded by Moorish battlements, or of ruined watch-towers perched on lofty peaks, carry the mind back to the chivalrous days of Christian and Moslem warfare, and to the romantic struggle for the conquest of Granada. In traversing their lofty sierras, the traveller is often obliged to alight and lead his horse up and down the steep and jagged ascents and descents, resembling the broken steps of a staircase. Sometimes the road winds along dizzy precipices, without parapet to guard him from the gulfs below, and then will plunge down steep and dark and dangerous declivities. Sometimes it struggles through rugged barrancos, or ravines, worn by water torrents, the obscure paths of the contrabandista; while ever and anon, the ominous cross, the memento of robbery and murder, erected on a mound of stones at some lonely part of the road, admonishes the traveller that he is among the haunts of banditti; perhaps, at that very moment, under the eye of some lurking bandalero. Sometimes, in winding through the narrow valleys, he is startled by a hoarse bellowing, and beholds above him, on some green fold of the mountain side, a herd of fierce Andalusian bulls, destined for the combat of the arena. There is something awful in the contemplation of these terrific animals, clothed with tremendous strength, and ranging their native pastures, in untamed wildness: strangers almost to the face of man. They know no one but the solitary herdsman who attends upon them, and even he at times dares not venture to approach them. The low bellowings of these bulls, and their menacing aspect as they look down from their rocky height, give additional wildness to the savage scenery around.'

After describing his journey to Granada, Mr. Irving proceeds to the principal subject of the work, and gives an account, in a series of detached articles, of the Alhambra, of the persons by whom it is now tenanted, and of his own occupations and amusements while he resided among them, interspersed with tales founded on the local traditions of the vicinity. It would be superfluous to follow the ingenious and elegant author in detail through the several portions of a work, which has already preceded our notice in the hands of most of our readers. It is marked substantially with the qualities that distinguished his former productions of the same class, excepting that there is no mixture of the pathetic. The tone

is throughout light and pleasant, and the tales are all, if we rightly recollect, of a comic cast. We are not sure that this tone is quite in keeping with the character of the subject; and if there be any defect in the general conception of the work, it consists in selecting the ruins of a celebrated ancient palace, which seem to lead more naturally to grave meditations on the fall of empires, and melancholy musings on the frailty of human greatness, as the scene of a series of sportive caricatures and comic stories. It is pleasant enough, on this view of the matter, that a patriotic citizen of the great and flourishing Republic of the Western world, while wandering through the splendid royal halls, whose present dilapidated condition serves as a memorial of one of the political movements that have changed the face of society, instead of turning his thoughts upon the high concerns of Church and State, should be chiefly occupied with the personal characters and little domestic arrangements of the house-keeper's family, the humors of honest Mateo Ximenes, the Tertulias of aunt Antonia, and the truant pigeon of her attractive niece, 'the merry-hearted little Dolores.' We are reminded of the simple exultation with which the Italian peasant prefers his own humble cottage to the magnificent, but to him incomprehensible structures, under the ruins of which it is erected.

> There in the ruins, heedless of the dead,
> The shelter-seeking peasant builds his shed;
> And, wondering man could want the larger pile,
> Exults and owns his cottage with a smile.

A work, conceived and executed in a tone like that of M. de Châteaubriand's Abencerrages, would have been undoubtedly more germane to the genius of the place where the scene is laid. But such is Mr. Irving. The high and deep things, whether of philosophy or feeling, are in a great measure foreign to him; and, as he more than intimates in the present work by several sly innuendoes about metaphysics, are, in his opinion, secrets not worth knowing. In the midst of the scenes and objects that most naturally suggest them, he reverts instinctively to the lights and shadows that play upon the surface of social life. He returns from the 'strong hold of old Ali-Atar, the father-in-law of Boabdil, whence that fiery veteran sallied forth with his son-in-law on that disastrous inroad, that ended in the death of the chieftain

and the capture of the monarch,' to tell us that the inn is kept by a young and handsome Andalusian widow with a trim basquina. When he thinks of the Alhambra hereafter, it will be 'to remember the lovely little Carmen, sporting in happy and innocent girlhood in its marble halls, dancing to the sound of the Moorish castanets, or mingling the silver warbling of her voice with the music of the fountains.' In all this, there is perhaps some little incongruity; but the spirit and beauty of the style render the work so agreeable, that, in reading it, we forget the defect, if such it can be called, of the plan, and would perhaps regret to have it any other than it is.

The best articles are those, in which the author gives a description of scenes and persons that have come directly within his own observation: such as the Journey, the Balcony, the Haunted Tower, the Author's Chamber, and the Visitors. Although some of these subjects might appear, as we have intimated, light and trifling, if viewed under the impression of the feelings most natural to the scene, they are all wrought up with great felicity, and are among the most finished and elegant specimens of style to be found in the language. We extract the Author's Chamber, not as the best, but as one which is best fitted by its length for quotation.

'On taking up my abode in the Alhambra, one end of a suite of empty chambers of modern architecture, intended for the residence of the governor, was fitted up for my reception. It was in front of the palace, looking forth upon the esplanade. The farther end communicated with a cluster of little chambers, partly Moorish, partly modern, inhabited by Tia Antonia and her family. These terminated in a large room, which serves the good old dame for parlor, kitchen and hall of audience. It had boasted of some splendor in time of the Moors, but a fire-place had been built in one corner, the smoke from which had discolored the walls, nearly obliterated the ornaments, and spread a sombre tint over the whole. From these gloomy apartments, a narrow blind corridor and a dark winding stair-case led down an angle of the tower of Comares; groping down which, and opening a small door at the bottom, you are suddenly dazzled by emerging into the brilliant antechamber of the hall of ambassadors, with the fountain of the court of the Alberca sparkling before you.

'I was dissatisfied with being lodged in a modern and frontier

apartment of the palace, and longed to ensconce myself in the very heart of the building.

'As I was rambling one day about the Moorish halls, I found, in a remote gallery, a door which I had not before noticed, communicating apparently with an extensive apartment, locked up from the public. Here then was a mystery. Here was the haunted wing of the castle. I procured the key, however, without difficulty. The door opened to a range of vacant chambers of European architecture; though built over a Moorish arcade, along the little garden of Lindaraxa. There were two lofty rooms, the ceilings of which were of deep panel work of cedar, richly and skilfully carved with fruits and flowers, intermingled with grotesque masks or faces; but broken in many places. The walls had evidently, in ancient times, been hung with damask, but were now naked, and scrawled over with the insignificant names of aspiring travellers; the windows, which were dismantled and open to wind and weather, looked into the garden of Lindaraxa, and the orange and citron trees flung their branches into the chambers. Beyond these rooms were two saloons, less lofty, looking also into the garden. In the compartments of the panelled ceiling were baskets of fruit and garlands of flowers, painted by no mean hand, and in tolerable preservation. The walls had also been painted in fresco in the Italian style, but the paintings were nearly obliterated. The windows were in the same shattered state as in the other chambers.

'This fanciful suite of rooms terminated in an open gallery with balustrades, which ran at right angles along another side of the garden. The whole apartment had a delicacy and elegance in its decorations, and there was something so choice and sequestered in its situation, along this retired little garden, that awakened an interest in its history. I found, on inquiry, that it was an apartment fitted up by Italian artists, in the early part of the last century, at the time when Philip V. and the beautiful Elizabetta of Parma were expected at the Alhambra; and was destined for the queen and the ladies of her train. One of the loftiest chambers had been her sleeping-room, and a narrow staircase leading from it, though now walled up, opened to the delightful belvedere, originally a mirador of the Moorish sultanas, but fitted up as a boudoir for the fair Elizabetta, and which still retains the name of the Tocador, or toilette of the queen. The sleeping-room I have mentioned commanded from one window a prospect of the Generaliffe, and its imbowered terraces; under another window played the alabaster fountain of the garden of Lindaraxa. That garden carried my thoughts still farther back, to the period of another reign of beauty; to the days of the Moorish sultanas.

"How beauteous is this garden!" says an Arabic inscription, "where the flowers of the earth vie with the stars of heaven! What can compare with the vase of yon alabaster fountain, filled with crystal water? Nothing but the moon in her fulness, shining in the midst of an unclouded sky!"

'Centuries had elapsed, yet how much of this scene of apparently fragile beauty remained! The garden of Lindaraxa was still adorned with flowers; the fountain still presented its crystal mirror: it is true, the alabaster had lost its whiteness, and the basin beneath, overrun with weeds, had become the nestling-place of the lizard; but there was something in the very decay that enhanced the interest of the scene, speaking, as it did, of that mutability which is the irrevocable lot of man and all his works. The desolation, too, of these chambers, once the abode of the proud and elegant Elizabetta, had a more touching charm for me than if I had beheld them in their pristine splendor, glittering with the pageantry of a court.—I determined at once to take up my quarters in this apartment.

'My determination excited great surprise in the family; who could not imagine any rational inducement for the choice of so solitary, remote and forlorn an apartment. The good Tia Antonia considered it highly dangerous. The neighborhood, she said, was infested by vagrants; the caverns of the adjacent hills swarmed with gipsies; the palace was ruinous and easy to be entered in many parts; and the rumor of a stranger quartered alone in one of the ruined apartments, out of the hearing of the rest of the inhabitants, might tempt unwelcome visiters in the night, especially as foreigners are always supposed to be well stocked with money. Dolores represented the frightful loneliness of the place; nothing but bats and owls flitting about; then there were a fox and a wild cat, that kept about the vaults and roamed about at night.

'I was not to be diverted from my humor; so, calling in the assistance of a carpenter, and the ever officious Mateo Ximenes, the doors and windows were soon placed in a state of tolerable security.

'With all these precautions, I must confess the first night I passed in these quarters was inexpressibly dreary. I was escorted by the whole family to my chamber, and their taking leave of me, and retiring along the waste antechamber and echoing galleries, reminded me of those hobgoblin stories, where the hero is left to accomplish the adventure of a haunted house.

'Soon the thoughts of the fair Elizabetta and the beauties of her court, who had once graced these chambers, now by a perversion of fancy added to the gloom. Here was the scene of

their transient gaiety and loveliness; here were the very traces of their elegance and enjoyment; but what and where were they? —Dust and ashes! tenants of the tomb! phantoms of the memory!

'A vague and indescribable awe was creeping over me. I would fain have ascribed it to the thoughts of robbers, awakened by the evening's conversation, but I felt that it was something more unusual and absurd. In a word, the long buried impressions of the nursery were reviving and asserting their power over my imagination. Every thing began to be affected by the workings of my mind. The whispering of the wind among the citron trees beneath my window had something sinister. I cast my eyes into the garden of Lindaraxa; the groves presented a gulf of shadows; the thickets had indistinct and ghastly shapes. I was glad to close the window; but my chamber itself became infected. A bat had found its way in, and flitted about my head and athwart my solitary lamp; the grotesque faces carved in the cedar ceiling seemed to mope and mow at me.

'Rousing myself, and half smiling at this temporary weakness, I resolved to brave it, and, taking lamp in hand, sallied forth to make a tour of the ancient palace. Notwithstanding every mental exertion, the task was a severe one. The rays of my lamp extended to but a little distance around me; I walked as it were in a mere halo of light, and all beyond was thick darkness. The vaulted corridors were as caverns; the vaults of the halls were lost in gloom; what unseen foe might not be lurking before or behind me; my own shadow playing about the walls, and the echoes of my own footsteps disturbed me.

'In this excited state, as I was traversing the great Hall of Ambassadors, there were added real sounds to these conjectural fancies. Low moans and indistinct ejaculations seemed to rise as it were from beneath my feet; I paused and listened. They then appeared to resound from without the tower. Sometimes they resembled the howlings of an animal, at others they were stifled shrieks, mingled with articulate ravings. The thrilling effect of these sounds in that still hour and singular place, destroyed all inclination to continue my lonely perambulation. I returned to my chamber with more alacrity than I had sallied forth, and drew my breath more freely when once more within its walls, and the door bolted behind me.

'When I awoke in the morning, with the sun shining in at my window, and lighting up every part of the building with its cheerful and truth-telling beams, I could scarcely recall the shadows and fancies conjured up by the gloom of the preceding night; or believe that the scenes around me, so naked and apparent, could have been clothed with such imaginary horrors.

'Still, the dismal howlings and ejaculations I had heard, were not ideal; but they were soon accounted for, by my handmaid Dolores; being the ravings of a poor maniac, a brother of her aunt, who was subject to violent paroxysms, during which he was confined in a vaulted room beneath the Hall of Ambassadors.'

The tales, though not to us, as we have said, the most agreeable portion of the work, and though, in fact, not distinguished by any particular power or point, are written in the correct and graceful style peculiar to the author, and will be read with pleasure, were it only for the beauty of the language, which is in fact their principal merit. The Moor's Legacy and Governor Manco are perhaps the best. Prince Ahmed, or the Pilgrim of Love, though evidently among the more elaborate, appears to us somewhat less successful than the others, which is rather remarkable, considering the attractive character of the subject, and the profusion of machinery which the author has brought into action. It would give us pleasure to adorn our pages with one of these narratives, but we deem it unnecessary for the purpose of making them known, as they are doubtless already familiar to our readers. On the whole, we consider the work before us as equal in literary value to any of the others of the same class, with the exception of the Sketch Book, and we should not be surprised, if it were read as extensively as even that very popular production. We hope to have it in our power, at no remote period, to announce a continuation of the series, which we are satisfied will bear, in the bookseller's phrase, several more volumes.

We cannot conclude without expressing the satisfaction with which we have learned, that our gifted and amiable countryman intends in future to fix his residence among us. By identifying his existence completely with the fortunes of this great and rising nation, we think that he will best consult his own happiness, and his permanent literary fame. Whatever may be at present the comparative value of the suffrages of foreign and domestic readers to an American writer, the time is not very distant, when that of the latter will be decidedly the more important; and it never could be given with real heartiness and good will to one who had virtually abjured his country. Nor, however cordially Mr. Irving may have been received in Europe, could he ever have ceased to be a pilgrim and a sojourner there: a situation which, though temporarily pleasant enough under some circumstances, holds out but a cold and

cheerless prospect for declining life. The open and hearty welcome which his fellow-citizens have given him, shows that he is best appreciated where he is best known. His reception at New York was the fairest triumph that has yet been accorded to literary desert in the New World. It proved, notwithstanding the idle assertions of our foreign detractors, that we are not a people given over exclusively to the love of dollars, or the furious strife for political distinction, but that we possess, in as high a degree as any of our contemporaries, the taste for intellectual occupations and pleasures. Mr. Irving has returned to us in the full vigor of life and health; younger, as his friends think, than when he left us seventeen years ago; but yet old enough not to be tempted from his chosen employments by any of those visions of success and glory to be obtained in others, that might cheat the fancy of a less experienced man. He has found in his literary pursuits a source of profit, that places him above the necessity of laboring with any motive, but that of promoting, as far as possible, his own reputation, and the public entertainment and instruction. His return, and the gratifying testimonials of respect and esteem which it has called forth from his countrymen, will give him new inspiration. His foot is now on his native heath. When he visits again the well-remembered scenes of his early adventures, associated in his mind with the delightful images of youthful love and fame,—when he sees the lofty Kaatskill putting on, as of old, his white ruff of ambient clouds, and the noble Hudson rushing with his world of waters to the ocean, between the busy streets of Manhattan on the one hand and the classic shades of Communipaw on the other,—he will find his powers refreshed and redoubled, and will feel himself encouraged, perhaps, to more successful efforts than any that he ever made before. We cordially invite him to enter on the new career of honorable labor and well-earned distinction, which awaits him on this side the water; and, as far as our feeble suffrage can give him any aid, we shall be truly happy, as occasion may offer, to cheer him from time to time upon his progress.

ART. II.—*History of the Italian Language and Dialects. Saggi di Prose e Poesie de' più celebri Scrittori d'ogni Secolo.* VI. vol. 8vo. (Selected by L. NARDINI and S. BUONAIUTI.) *In Londra.* 1798.

Having, in a former number of our Journal, given a sketch of the Origin and Progress of the French Language, we propose to occupy a part of the present with a similar sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Italian, together with a general survey of its numerous and diversified dialects. In so doing, we deem no apology necessary, even should the discussion of so wide a subject occupy a large number of our pages. We hold the study of languages, philosophically pursued, to be one of the most important which can occupy the human mind. And we are borne out in this opinion by the reflection, that the elements of language lie deep among the elements of thought:—that the one follows the various fluctuations of the other; and that the language of a nation is the external symbol of its character and its mind. As the armor and weapons of the Middle Ages, preserved as curiosities in the museums of modern days, exhibit very clearly and forcibly not only the character of the times, but also the stature and physical strength of those who wore and wielded them; so do the curious remains of a language,—the armor and weapons of the mind,—exhibit in a clear and vivid light, not only the character of a departed age and nation, but the strength and stature of the intellect, by which its various parts were worn and wielded. To learn, then, how other nations have thought, and felt, and spoken;—to observe how the language of a people is influenced by its character, customs and government; and to trace it in its gradual development, as it spreads and unfolds itself, like a broad banner, above the march of civilization,—now high exalted in the advance of mind, and now waving to and fro in the breath of civil discord, or torn and prostrate beneath the rushing wheels of a conqueror's car,—this is a study worthy the best and noblest mind. Nor do we know of any language in which this study could be more pleasantly pursued than in the Italian;—a language whose history is well known, and whose numerous dialects present on all sides the most ample illustrations. It is not, however, our present intention to enter this wide but interesting field

of philological inquiry. We shall confine ourselves to a brief sketch of the history of the Italian Language, and to exhibiting and illustrating its several dialects by numerous examples, without investigating in detail the local and political causes, which produced them.

In regard to the Origin of the Italian Language, three different theories have been brought forward by Italian writers. These we shall notice separately, but briefly, commencing with that, which, having the least foundation in fact, is least entitled to regard.

I. Leonardo Bruni, surnamed *l'Aretino*, from Arezzo, the place of his birth, a writer of the fifteenth century and the first among his countrymen who treated of this subject, maintains that the Italian language is coëval with the Latin:—that both were used at the same time in ancient Rome,—the Latin by the learned in their writings and public discourses, and the Italian by the populace, and in familiar conversation. Cardinal Bembo and Francesco Saverio Quadrio have since maintained the same opinion.* In proof of their theory, these

* Quadrio urges in behalf of his native tongue a claim to higher antiquity than either Bruni or Bembo. In his *Storia d'Ogni Poesia*, Vol. I. p. 42, he has the following passage: 'Anzi siccome le cose imperfette esistono prima, che le perfette; così non andrebbe lungi dal vero chi opinasse che l'odierna Lingua Italiana fosse prima, che la colta Latina; da che la colta Latina fu studiato ritrovamento delle colte persone, le quali la prima rusticana e nativa a regole ordinarono, e ingentilirono.' The best way to test the value of this opinion, will be to bring forward an example of ancient Latin. Accordingly we take from Adelung's Mithridates *(Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde, von Johann Christoph Adelung.)* Vol. II. p. 461, the following extract from the edicts of Numa Pompilius, who flourished about seven centuries before the Augustan age. Opposite we place the modern Latin translation, as it stands in Adelung, venturing on the authority of Rosini *(Antiquitatum Romanarum Corpus Absolutissimum*, Lib. VIII. p. 560) to supply one word and change one or two more. Below, we add a strictly verbal translation in Italian, supplying in *italic* the necessary articles and prepositions, in order that our readers may compare the three languages, and judge how far their resemblance will bear out the opinion of Quadrio.

'Sei hemonem fulmin Jobis ocisit nei supera genua tolitod; hemo sei fulmined ocisus escit oloe iousta nuli fieri oportetod.	*Si hominem fulmen Jovis occiderit, ne supra genua tollito; homo si fulmine occisus est, ei justa nulla fieri oportet.*
'Se cuips hemonem loebesom dolo sciens mortei duit pariceidad estod.	*Si quis hominem liberum dolo sciens morti dat parricida esto.*

writers cite the language of the plebeian personages in the comedies of Plautus and Terence. There they find many words and expressions, which bear some resemblance to the modern Italian, and which have never gained admittance into the works of other classic writers; and from these, and some interchange of letters, such as the use of *o* for *e*, as in *vostris* for *vestris*, and *v* for *b*, as in *vellum* for *bellum*, they draw the conclusion, that as the vulgar Latin was not classic Latin, it must have been Italian. This looks very much like a *non sequitur*. Let our readers judge from the words quoted by Quadrio to sustain his opinion.

Vulgar Latin.	Italian.	Classic Latin.
Essere	*Essere*	Esse
Vernus	*Verno*	Hyems
Minacia	*Minaccie*	Minæ
Batuere	*Battere*	Percutere
Bellus	*Bello*	Pulcher
Russus	*Rosso*	Rubeus
Caballus	*Cavallo*	Equus.

By this list it will be seen, that there are words now in use in the Italian language, which were of old in the mouths of the Roman populace, and others, which bear a much stronger resemblance to vulgar, than to classic Latin. But if this similarity of a few words could prove the identity of two languages, then have we been speaking German all our lives, without being aware of the fact. It is clearly evident, that no such identity is here proved; and the only fair

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'Sei im imprudens se dolo malod oceisit pro capited oceisei et nateis eiius endo concioned arietem subicitod.'

Si eum imprudens sine dolo malo occidit, pro capite occisi et natis ejus in concione arietem subjicito.

'Se *un* uomo *il* fulmine *di* Giove uccide non sopra *le* ginocchia *lo* toglia; *un* uomo se *dal* fulmine ucciso è a lui esequio nullo fatto esser dovrebbe.

'Se qualcuno *un* uomo libero dolo conoscente *a* morte dà, parricida sia.

'Se lo, imprudente senza dolo malo, uccide, per *il* capo *dell'* ucciso ed *i* nati *di* lui nella concione *un* montone sottoponga' [sacrifichi.]

By comparing the Italian of this extract with the ancient and the modern Latin separately, it will be very manifest that, with the exception of the words oloe, *a lui*, the resemblance is less between the ancient Latin and the Italian, than between the Italian and the classic Latin.

conclusion to be drawn from this discrepancy and this resemblance of words, is one in which all agree, namely, that in ancient as in modern Italy there was a difference between the classic and the vulgar tongue.—The other leading argument brought forward by the same writers, to sustain their theory, leads to the same conclusion. They say that the classic Latin was taught in the Roman schools, as in our own. Granted. But if this prove, that the language of the Roman populace was not Latin, then by a parity of reasoning we arrive at the conclusion, that English is not the popular language of New England, because it is taught in our schools. No: take whatever path you may in this theory, it leads you to no debateable ground in the controversy, but to the common concession, that there was a difference between the classic and the vulgar tongue of ancient Rome. Indeed a single scene of Plautus is enough to overthrow the theory, that 'at the same birth with the Latin, the Italian, a sister language, was born from the Pelasgian, the Oscan and the Greek, with perhaps a taint of Hebrew blood.'*

II. The next theory we shall notice is that of the marquis Scipio Maffei. He rejects the opinion of Bruni and his disciples, because, in his own words, 'vulgarisms are not sufficient to form a language, nor to render it adequate to literary uses.' He also rejects the general opinion, which we shall next consider, that the Italian was formed by the corruptions introduced into the Latin by the northern conquerors, asserting that 'neither the Lombards nor the Goths had any part whatever in the formation of the Italian language.' † The theory he advances is, that the Italian was formed from the gradual corruption of the classic Latin, without the intervention of any foreign influence; or, to use his own words, that 'it originated from abandoning in common conversation the classic, grammatical and correct Latin, and generally adopting, in its stead, a vulgar mode of speech, incorrect in structure and vicious in pronunciation.' In proof of this he asserts, that many words and forms of expression, which are generally supposed to be derived from the Barbarians of the North, were in use in Italy before their invasions. The examples he brings in evidence are taken chiefly from the writings of Au-

* Quadrio. *Storia d'Ogni Poesia, loc. cit.*
† Maffei. *Verona Illustrata:* par. I. lib. 11.

lus Gellius, Cassiodorus, St. Jerome and others, who wrote when the Latin had already lost much of its purity; and we believe it to be a fact very generally acknowledged by literary historians, that this first corruption of the Latin was produced by the crowds of strangers that filled the city of Rome, during the reigns of the foreign Emperors.* How much greater must that corruption have become, when the Goths and Lombards filled, not only the city of Rome, but the whole of Italy northward! But Maffei supposes that the numbers of the barbarian conquerors were too small to have produced any changes in the language of the conquered people. Can this be so? Muratori, in a dissertation upon this subject,† says, that in the Gothic invasion of the year 405, King Radagaiso entered Italy with an army of two hundred thousand men; and it is well known, that at a later period whole nations rather than armies followed the Lombard banners towards the South. Again, Maffei urges, that the universal vowel terminations of the Italian, (every word in that language terminating in a vowel, with the exception of five monosyllables) preclude the possibility of any influence from nations, whose languages are crowded with consonant endings. Now no one pretends to derive these vowel terminations from the North: they are evidently of Greek and Latin origin, and were doubtless in a great degree introduced in the infancy of the Italian tongue from Sicily, where some of the earliest Italian poets sang, and where of yore the Doric dialect of Greece was spoken. Besides, the harshness and numerous consonants of the Italian Lombard dialects, of which we shall hereafter bring forward specimens, give the *coup de grace* to this part of Maffei's argument.

III. We now come to the oldest and most generally re-

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* Landi, in his translation of Tiraboschi, cites a passage from Cicero, which bears forcibly upon this point. It is the following: '*Sed hanc rem deteriorem vetustas fecit et Romæ, et in Graecia: confluxerunt enim et Athenas et in hanc urbem multi inquinatè loquentes ex diversis locis; quo magis expurgandus est sermo.*' De Claris Orat. n. 74. Cit. by Landi: *Hist. de la Litt. d'Italie, abrégée par Antoine Landi. T.* II. *p.* 329. *Note.*

† *Delle gente barbare, che assoggettarono l'Italia:* Lodovico Antonio Muratori. Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane. T. I. Diss. 1.

We refer our readers also to Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. VII: and to the *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Age*, par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, Tom. I. chap. 1.

ceived opinion in regard to the formation of the Italian language, the same that is advocated by Muratori, Fontanini, Tiraboschi, Denina, Ginguené, Sismondi, and most of the philologers of the present day. All these writers recognize the immediate co-operation of the Northern languages in the formation of the Italian. Their theory is briefly this. Before the Northern invasions, the Latin language had lost much of its elegance even in the writings of the learned, and in the mouths of the illiterate had become exceedingly corrupt; but still it was Latin. When these invasions took place, the conquerors found themselves under the necessity of learning, to a certain extent, the language of the conquered. This, however, was a task not easily accomplished by unlettered men, who, in their efforts to speak the Latin, introduced a vicious pronunciation, and many of the familiar forms and idioms of their native languages. Thus the articles came into use; prepositions were substituted for the various terminations of the Latin declensions, and the auxiliary verbs crept into the conjugations. Though the great mass of words remained virtually the same, yet most of them were more or less mutilated, and a great number of Gothic and Lombard words were naturalized in Italy, by giving them a Latin termination.* To the conquered people, the gradual transition from one degree of corruption in their language to another still lower, was both natural and easy; and thus a conventional language was formed, which very naturally divided itself into numerous dialects, and was denominated *volgare* in contradistinction to the Latin; for the Latin still continued to be the written language of the studious and the learned.

We hold, then, to the generally received opinion, that like the French and Spanish, the Italian is a branch of that widespread and not very uniform *Romana Rustica*, which was formed by the intermingling of Barbaric words and idioms with

* This is proved incontestably by the researches of Muratori and others. The following are examples: *andare*, from the German wanderen, is found in all the Italian dialects:—*arrostare*, from the German rosten, which is likewise found in all the dialects; (the Friulano and the Trevigiano have the word *rost:*)—*asbergo* from the Teutonic halsberg; etc. The words of northern origin employed by Dante are all designated in the *Dizionario Etimologico compilato da* Q. Viviani, in the third volume of *Il Dante, giusta la lezione del codice Bartoliniano*, where also the various forms these words have assumed in different dialects are noted.

the lower latinity of Italy, France and Spain, and which prevailed in the earlier part of the middle ages, with many local forms and peculiarities, through a large portion of the South of Europe. But, in the language of a polished Italian writer,* '*who* was the first author that wrote, *what* the first work composed in this tongue? It would be curious to inquire, but impossible to ascertain. The origin of this, like the origin of most things else, is uncertain, confused, and undetermined; for all things spring from insensible beginnings, and we cannot say of any, *here* it commenced.'—All that literary historians can do, is to preserve the earliest existing monuments of the language and literature of a nation. All beyond must remain a subject of vague conjecture, till patient research or fortunate accident removes the boundaries of our knowledge farther and farther back into the shadowy regions of the past.

The earliest well-authenticated specimen of the Italian language belongs to the close of the twelfth century.† It is the

* Saverio Bettinelli: *Il Risorgimento d'Italia.*

† The literary historians of Italy have preserved two inscriptions of a more ancient date; but strong doubts are entertained of their authenticity. The first bears the date of 1135. It was an inscription in mosaic over the high altar of the Cathedral of Ferrara, which is now demolished. As the original no longer exists, there seems to be some doubt in regard to the reading of the last three lines. We give the generally received version, and for the other refer our readers to *Nardini.* Vol. VI. p. 228.

IL MILLE CENTO TRENTACINQUE NATO
FO QUESTO TEMPIO A ZORZI CONSECRATO
FO NICOLAO SCOLPTORE
E GLIELMO FO L' AUCTORE.

Quadrio. T. I. p. 43.—*Tiraboschi.* T. III. Lib. IV. p. 365.

The second was written in the year 1184. It was placed in the castle of the Ubaldini near Florence, in commemoration of a stag-hunt in the neighborhood, wherein Ubaldino degli Ubaldini seized the stag by the horns, and held him until the Emperor Frederick I. coming up, despatched the weary animal. The inscription thus commences:

DE FAVORE ISTO
GRATIAS REFERO CHRISTO.
FACTUS IN FESTO SERENAE
SANCTAE MARIAE MAGDALENAE.
IPSA PECULIARITER ADORI
AD DEUM PRO ME PECCATORI.
CON LO MEO CANTARE
DALLO VERO VERO NARRARE

Canzone of Ciullo d'Alcamo, by birth a Sicilian, and the earliest Italian poet, whose name is on record. He wrote about the year 1197. The song consists of thirty-two stanzas, some of which are not entire, and is written in the form of a colloquy between the poet and a lady. The language is a rude Sicilian dialect, and in many places unintelligible. We give two stanzas, the first and the fifteenth.

PROPOSTA.

Rosa fresca aulentissima ca pari in ver l' estate
Le Donne te desiano pulcelle maritate
Traheme deste focora se teste a bolontate
Per te non aio abento nocte e dia
Pensando pur di voi Madonna mia. . . .

RISPOSTA.

Poi tanto trabagliastiti faccioti meo pregheri
Che tu vadi addomannimi a mia mare e a mon peri.
Se dare mi ti degnano menami a lo mosteri
E sposami davanti de la jente
E poi farò lo tuo comannamento.

'Fresh and most fragrant rose, that appearest towards summer, the ladies desire thee, virgins and wedded dames. Take me from this flame, if such be thy will. For thee I have no rest night nor day, thinking always of thee, my Lady.

'Since thou hast so much suffered, listen to my prayer; go, ask me of my mother and of my father; if they deign to give me to thee, lead me to the altar, and wed me before the world, and then I will do what thou commandest.'

The whole of this canzone may be found in the sixth volume of Nardini's collection, p. 217.

The names of several Italian poets, who lived at the commencement of the thirteenth century, and portions at least of their writings, are still preserved. The first specimen which we shall offer of the language as it then existed is drawn from

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NULLO NE DIPARTO.
ANNO MILESIMO
CHRISTI SALUTE CENTESIMO.
OCTUAGESIMO QUARTO.

The entire inscription may be found in *Quadrio*. T. II. p. 150.—*Tiraboschi*. T. III. Lib. IV. p. 366.—*Crescimbeni*, Istoria della Volgar Poesia. T. I. p. 100.—*Nardini*, Vol. VI. p. 226.

the *Lamento d' Amore*, a canzone of Folcachiero de' Folcachieri, of Siena, a poet who flourished about the year 1200. The reader will be struck with the great purity of language and ease of versification of the Sienese poet, when compared with the rude melody of the Sicilian, who flourished but a few years before him. It seems evident from this and other extracts of a little later date, which we shall presently bring forward, that the Italian language was much more cultivated in the northern provinces, than in the southern; and if Sicily claims the honor of having been the cradle of the Italian language and literature, the cities of the north can boast of having given them the severe discipline of education. We extract the first two stanzas of the *lamento* of the Sienese poet.

Tutto lo mondo vive senza guerra,
Ed eo pace non posso haver niente.
O Deo come faraggio,
O Deo come sostienemi la terra.
E par ch' eo viva en noia della gente;
Ogni uomo m' è selvaggio;
Non paiono li fiori
Per me com' già soleano,
E gli augei per amori
Doci vers aceano agli albori.
E quando eo veggio gli altri cavalieri
Arme portare, e d' amore parlando,
Ed eo tutto mi doglio;
Sollazzo m' è tornato in pensieri.
La gente mi riguardano parlando
S' eo sono quello che essere soglio;
Non so ciò ch' eo mi sia,
Nè so perchè m' avvene
Forte la vita mia;
Tornato m' è lo bene in dolori.

'The whole world lives without war, and I alone can have no peace. O heaven, what shall I do?—how can this earth sustain me?—It seems that I live at war with all mankind, and every man is strange and savage to me. The flowers do not look to me as they were wont, when the birds in their woodland loves sang sweet songs to the trees.

'And when I see the other cavaliers bearing their arms, and speaking still of love, and I in sorrow mute, all consolation turns to musing care. The crowd gazes at me, asking if I am he whom

they were wont to know;—I know not what I am, nor know I wherefore this life has grown so weary to me, nor why my joys are changed to sorrows.'

It is evident from this specimen, that the cultivated language of the north of Italy, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, was far from being rude and unpolished. Still, it will be observed, there are forms then used which a few years afterwards had become obsolete, and which are not found in the extract which follows.

Nearly a quarter of a century later, in 1220, flourished Guido Guinizelli of Bologna, to whom by acclamation is given the honor of being the first among the Italian poets, who embodied in verse the subtleties of philosophy, and gave terseness, force and elevation to poetic style. Dante has recorded his fame in Canto XXVI of the Purgatory, where he speaks of his *dolci detti*, and calls him

> ——————— il padre
> Mio e degli altri miei miglior, che mai
> Rime d' amore usar dolci e leggiadre.

The praise of sweet-flowing language is certainly merited by this ancient poet, as may be seen from the following extract. It is the commencement of the most beautiful of the author's canzoni; its subject is the Nature of Love. This poem is given entire in Nardini, Vol. VI. p. 212.

> Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore
> Sì com' augello in selva a la verdura;
> Non fe Amore anzi che gentil core,
> Nè gentil core, anzi ch' Amor Natura;
> Ch' adesso com' fu 'l sole,
> Sì tosto lo splendore suo lucente;
> Nè fue davante al sole;
> E prende Amore in gentilezza loco,
> Così propiamente
> Com' il calore in clarità del fuoco.
>
> Fuoco d'Amore in gentil cor s' apprende,
> Come vertute in pietra preziosa,
> Chè dalla stella valor non discende,
> Anzi che 'l sol la faccia gentil cosa;
> Poichè n' ha tratto fuore
> Per la sua forza il sol ciò che gli è vile,
> La stella i dà valore;

Cosi lo cor che fatto è da Natura
Alsetto, pur, gentile,
Donna, a guisa di stella lo 'nnamora.

To noble heart love doth for shelter fly,
As seeks the bird the forest's leafy shade;
Love was not felt till noble heart beat high,
Nor before love the noble heart was made;
Soon as the sun's broad flame
Was formed, so soon the clear light filled the air;
Yet was not till he came;
So love springs up in noble breasts, and there
Has its appointed space,
As heat in the bright flame finds its allotted place.

Kindles in noble heart the fire of love,
As hidden virtue in the precious stone;
This virtue comes not from the stars above,
Till round it the ennobling sun has shone;
But when his powerful blaze
Has drawn forth what was vile, the stars impart
Strange virtue in their rays;
And thus when nature doth create the heart
Noble, and pure, and high,
Like virtue from the star, love comes from woman's eye.

Setting aside the poetic merit of this canzone, of which we have extracted about one third, the language in which it is composed clearly bears away the palm from all other writings of an earlier date. Something had been gained in softness and flexibility, even in the short interval which had elapsed between the date of this extract and that of the preceding: and probably the writings of Guido Guinizelli exhibit the Italian language under the best form it wore during the first half of the thirteenth century. Otherwise they would not have been so highly extolled by Dante, who never loses an opportunity of setting forth their merit, and who still more plainly shows the esteem, in which he held the quaint language of his poetic father, by appropriating one of his lines.

Amor, ch' al cor gentil ratto s' apprende,

in the description of Francesco da Rimini, in the fifth Canto of the Inferno, was doubtless taken from Guinizelli's

Fuoco d' Amore in gentil cor s' apprende.

We will now step forward a half-century to the days of Brunetto Latini, the celebrated poet, philosopher and rhetorician, and the still more celebrated master of Dante. He was born about 1220, and died in 1294.

The following extract will show to what degree of perfection the language had advanced in his day. It is a description of the Creation, taken from the *Tesoretto*, the Little Treasure, Cap. VI.

Dio fece lo giorno,	God created the day,
E la luce joconda,	And the jocund light,
E ciela, e terra, e onda.	And heaven, and earth, and sea.
E l' aere creao,	And the air he created,
E li angeli formao,	And formed the angels,
Ciascun partitamente;	Each one separately;
E tutto di neente.	And all out of nothing.
Poi la seconda dia,	Then on the second day
Per la sua gran balía,	By his great power,
Stabilì 'l firmamento,	He established the firmament,
E 'l suo ordinamento.	And the order thereof.
Il terzo, ciò mi pare,	The third, so seemeth it to me,
Specificò lo mare,	He gave the ocean bounds,
E la terra divise:	And divided the dry land;
E 'n ella fece e mise	And created and placed therein
Onne cosa barbata,	All vegetable life
Ch' è 'n terra radicata.	That in the earth taketh root.
Al quarto die presente	And on the fourth day
Fece compitamente	He created wholly
Tutte le luminarie;	The lights in the firmament;
Stelle diverse e varie.	The stars of various glory.
Nella quinta giornata	On the fifth day
Si fue da lui creata	By him was created
Ciascuna creatura,	Every living creature
Che nuota in acqua pura.	That swimmeth in the pure water.
Lo sesto die fu tale,	And the sixth day was such,
Che fece ogne anemale,	That in it he created all animals,
E fece Adam et Eva	He created Adam and Eve,
Che poi rupper la tregua	Who afterwards broke the law
Del suo comandamento.	Of his commandment.
Per quel trapassamento	For which transgression
Mantenente fu miso	Straightway they were driven
Fora del Paradiso.	Forth out of Paradise.

These lines are remarkably simple, and in their structure and language so easy to be understood, that they render comment and annotation entirely useless, and hardly require a

translation. But this was the polished Tuscan of the age. The same pen that indited it was skilful in a ruder dialect. Brunetto Latini was the author of a satirical poem, entitled *Il Pataffio*, written in a low Florentine jargon, which is for the most part quite unintelligible, even to Italians. The editor of the *Saggi di Prose e Poesie* says, that it is written *in un gergo, che neppure col comento si può intendere.**

Such was the state of the Italian language during the thirteenth century. One step farther ushers us into the august presence of the three *gran maestri del bel parlar Toscano*, Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio. Their praise is on every lip; their eulogy flows from every pen. They were giants of an early age, when gigantic strength was wanted to fix the uncertain foundations of their national language and literature broad, deep and massive. This glorious work was theirs. They did not wholly create, but they advanced, and developed and rendered permanent. They did not strike the first spade into the soil, but they drew the stone from the quarry, set the landmarks, polished the rough marble, and piled and cemented the mis-shapen blocks, till beneath their hands the noble structure rose, majestic, towering, beautiful. It is the high prerogative of genius to give transcendant value to whatever it touches. It copies from the world around, it works with the same instruments and upon the same material with other minds, but from its hand material forms come forth, breathing, moving, instinct with life, like the marble of the Cyprian

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* We subjoin a few lines of this curious and unintelligible poem, in order to show how great a difference already existed between the cultivated Italian and one at least of the popular dialects.

Squasimodeo, introcque e a fusone
Ne hai ne hai, pilorcio, e con mattana:
Al can la tigna; egli è un mazzamarrone.
La difalta perecchi adana adana
A cafisso, e a busso, e a ramata:
Tutto codesto è della petronciana,
Bituschio, Scraffo, e ben l' abbiam filata
A chiedere a balante, e gignignacca,
Punzone, e sergozzone, e la recchiata.
Bindo mio no, chè l' è una zambracca:
In pozzanghera cadde il muscia cheto;
E pur di palo in frasco, e bulinacca, etc.

Nardini, Vol. VI. p. 194.

Would the disciples of Bruni or Maffei attempt to trace back all these words to a Latin origin?

statue. It dips in the fountains of Castaly, and their cold depths flash and sparkle like the golden sands of Pactolus. It was by the power of such a spell, that from the rude and diversified dialects of the thirteenth century, issued forth the *idioma gentil sonante e puro.*

Before proceeding farther with this part of our subject, it will be necessary to throw a passing glance upon the various dialects, which divide the Italian language. These are all of greater antiquity than the classic Italian, the *parlare Illustre, Cardinale, Aulico e Cortigiano;* and many of them dispute the honor of having given it birth, with an obstinacy, which reminds one of Lessing's *nichtswürdige Rangstreit der Thiere,* wherein the ape and the ass were the last to leave the contest. Dante enumerates fifteen dialects existing in his day, and gives their names. He then observes farther: 'From this it appears, that the Italian language alone is divided into at least fourteen dialects, each of which is again subdivided into under-dialects, as the Tuscan into the Sienese and Aretine, the Lombard into the dialects of Ferrara and Piacenza; and even in the same city some varieties of language may be found. Hence if we include the leading dialects of the Italian *Volgare* with the under-dialects and their subdivisions, the varieties of language common in this little corner of the world will amount to a thousand, and even more.'* This diversity of the Italian dialects is doubtless to be attributed in a great measure to the varieties of dialect existing in the vulgar Latin at the time of the northern invasions, and to similar varieties in the original dialects of the invaders themselves, who, it will be recollected, were of different tribes of the vast family of the Gotho-Germans, among which were the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, the Lombards, the Gepidi, the Bulgari, the Sarmati, the Pannonii, the Suevi, and the Norici. Much, too, must be attributed to the accidental but inevitable changes, wrought in a language by the gradual progress of its history and the contingencies of time and place; and something to the new development of national character produced by the admixture of the Roman and Teutonic races.†

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* *De Vulgari Eloquio.* Cap. X.

† Each of the Italian cities is marked by peculiar traits of character in its inhabitants, which bear in the mouths of the populace some epithet of praise, or are the subject of gibe and ribaldry. For example, the Milanese have the *sobriquet* of *buoni buzziconi;* and in the following

After enumerating the dialects, which prevailed in his day, Dante goes into a discussion of the beauties and defects of some of the more prominent. He disposes of all these by observing that neither of them is the *Volgare Illustre*, to discover which he had instituted the inquiry; and hence draws the conclusion 'that the *Volgare Illustre, Cardinale, Aulico, e Cortigiano* of Italy is the language common to all the Italian cities, but peculiar to none.' In other words, it exists everywhere in parts, but no where as a whole, save in the pages of the classic writer. This opinion, however, has been warmly contested, and the champions of four or five parties have taken the field. The first, with Machiavelli and the host of the Florentine Academy at their head, have asserted the supremacy of the language of the city of Florence; and, actuated it would seem more by the zeal of local prejudice, than any generous feeling of national pride, have contended, that the classic language of that literature, in whose ample field the name of their whole country was already so proudly emblazoned, was the dialect of Florence, and should be called, not Italian, not even Tuscan,—but *Florentine.* In the bitterness of dispute, Machiavelli exclaims against the author of the *Divina Commedia;* 'In every thing he has brought infamy upon his country, and now even in her language he would tear from her that reputation, which he imagines his own writings have conferred upon her.' * There spake the politician, not the scholar. Machiavelli's own writings are the best refutation of his theory.

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lines, which we find quoted in Howell's '*Signorie of Venice*,' p. 55, numerous epithets are applied.

Fama tra noi; Roma *pomposa* e *santa;*
Venetia *saggia, rica signorile;*
Napoli *odorifera* e *gentile;*
Fiorenza *bella*, tutto il mondo canta;
Grande Milano in Italia si vanta;
Bologna *grassa;* Ferrara *civile;*
Padoua *dotta*, e Bergamo *sottile;*
Genoa di *superbia* altiera pianta;
Verona *degna;* e Perugia *sanguigna;*
Brescia l' *armata;* e Mantoa *gloriosa;*
Rimini *buona;* e Pistoia *ferrigna;*
Cremona *antica*, e Luca *industriosa;*
Furli *bizarro*, e Ravenna *benigna;* etc.

* *Discorso in cui si esamina se la lingua in cui scrissero Dante, il Boccaccio, e il Petrarca si debba chiamare Italiana, Toscana, o Fiorentina.* Machiavelli: Opere. T. X. p. 371.

Bembo,* though a Venetian, and Varchi,† the historian of the wars of the Florentine Republic, were also advocates of the same opinion. In humble imitation of these, some members of the Academy of the *Intronati* in Siena put in their claims in favor of their native *Sanese;* and one writer at least of Bologna asserted the supremacy of the *Bolognese.*‡ Their pretensions however seem neither to have caused alarm, nor even to have excited attention. The champions of the name and glory of the Tuscan show a more liberal spirit, inasmuch as they extend to a whole province, what the Florentine and Sienese Academicians would have shut up within the walls of a single city. Among those who have enlisted beneath this banner, are Dolce§ and Tolomei.‖ But far more of the high and liberal spirit of the scholar is shown by those writers who do not arrogate to their own native city or province, that glory which rightly belongs to their whole country. Among those who assert the common right of all the provinces of Italy to share in the honor of having contributed something to the classic Italian, and, consequently, say that it should bear the name of Italian rather than that of Florentine, Sienese, or Tuscan, after Dante, are Castelvetro¶, Muzio,** and Cesarotti.†† Now, as is pretty universally the case in literary warfare, an exclusive and uncompromising spirit has urged the combatants onward, and they have contended for victory rather than for truth, which seems to lie prostrate in the field midway between the contending parties, unseen and trampled upon by all. The facts which we can gather from the contending arguments, lead us to embrace the opinion that the classic Italian is based upon the Tuscan, but adorned and enriched by words and idioms from all the provinces of Italy. In other words, each of the Italian dialects has contributed something to its formation, but most of all the Tuscan; and the language thus

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* Pietro Bembo: Opere. Vol. X. Della Volgar Lingua.

† Benedetto Varchi: *L' Ercolano, nel qual si ragiona delle lingue, e in particolare della toscana e della fiorentina.*

‡ Gian Filoteo Achillini: *Annotazioni della Volgar Lingua.*

§ Lodovico Dolce: *Osservazioni della Volgar Lingua.*

‖ Claudio Tolomei; *Il Cesano, nel quale si disputa del nome con cui si dee chiamare la Volgar Lingua.*

¶ Lodovico Castelvetro: *Correzione di alcune cose nel dialogo delle lingue* (Varchi's Ercolano.)

** Gerolamo Muzio; *Battaglie per difesa dell' Italica lingua.*

†† Melchior Cesarotti: *Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue.*

formed belongs not to a single city, nor a single province, but is the common possession of the whole of

Il bel paese là dove il sì suona.

Such was the language, which in the fourteenth century was carried to its highest state of perfection in the writings of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. Beneath their culture, the tree, whose far-spreading roots drew nourishment from the soil of every province, reared aloft its leafy branches to the sky, vocal with song, and proffered shelter to all who deigned to sit beneath its shadow and listen to the laughing tale, the amorous lay, or the fearful mysteries of another life. Dante Alighieri was born at Florence in 1265, and died at Ravenna in 1321. As an author, he belongs to the fourteenth century. Boccaccio says, that he wrote in his native dialect; but it is conceded on all hands, and all his writings prove the fact, that he did not confine himself exclusively to any one dialect, but drew from all whatever they contained of force and beauty.* In the words of Cesarotti, in his Essay on the Philosophy of Language, 'the genius of Dante was not the slave of his native idiom. His zeal was rather national than simply patriotic. The creator of a philosophic language, he sacrifices all conventional elegance to expressiveness and force; and far from flattering a particular dialect, lords it over the whole language, which he seems at times to rule with despotic sway.' In this way, Dante advanced the Italian to a high rank among the living languages of his age. Posterity has not withheld the honor, then bestowed upon him, of being the most perfect master of the vulgar tongue, that had appeared:† and this seems to strengthen and establish the argument, that the Italian language consists of the gems of various dialects enchased in the pure gold of the Tuscan.

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* Gianvicenzo Gravina, in a work entitled *Della Ragion Poetica*, has the following passage upon this point: 'Dante, abbracciando la lingua comunemente intesa ed usata in iscritto per tutta l' Italia, che volgare appelliamo, accrebbe a quella parole e locuzioni trasportate da' Lombardi, Romagnuoli e Toscani, il di cui dialetto fe' prevalere: onde Boccaccio disse aver Dante scritto in idioma, cioè idiotismo fiorentino. . . . E sparse alle volte anche delle voci da lui inventate, ed altre derivate dall' antica, cioè dalla latina.'

† 'Lo stile, [di Dante] che sente ora alcun poco del rancido, era a quel tempo per certissima testimonianza del Villani e del Boccaccio, il più vago stile e il più polito, che si fosse veduto mai più per innanzi in alcuna scrittura volgare.' Denina, *Saggio sopra la Letteratura Italiana.*

Francisco Petrarca was born in 1304 and died in 1374. During his residence at Vaucluse, he made the Provençal language and the poetry of the Troubadours his study. From the former he enriched the vocabulary of his native tongue, and from the latter his own sonnets and canzoni; but we are inclined to think that in both these, critics have much exaggerated the amount. Many Italian words supposed to have been introduced by him from the Provençal are of native origin, and in regard to the plagiarisms from Mossen Jordi, those cited are few in number, and may be in part accounted for by regarding them as simple coincidences of thought, or by referring them to that mysterious principle of the mind, by which the ideas we have gathered from books or from those around us, start up like the spontaneous offspring of our own powers. But Petrarch's residence at Avignon, and his study of the Troubadours of Provence, were productive of more real advantages than these: for there the poet caught the cunning art of his melodious periods, and thus infused into his native language all the softness and flexibility of the dialect of the south of France. Dante had already given majesty and force to the Italian; Petrarch gave it elegance and refinement. To use the language of an able Italian author, 'He wrote with so great elegance, and such a delicate choice of words and phrases, that for the space of four hundred years no one has appeared who can boast of having carried to greater perfection, or refined in any degree the style of his *Canzoniere*. On the contrary, he stands so sovereign and unrivalled a master of this language, particularly in poetry, that perhaps no author exists in any tongue, whose expressions may be so freely and unhesitatingly imitated both in verse and in prose, as those of Petrarch, although he wrote four centuries ago, and the language has still continued a living language, subject to the continual changes of time.'*

Giovanni Boccaccio was born in Florence in 1313, and died in 1375. Italian critics do not bestow the same unqualified praise upon his language as upon that of Petrarch. They find him something old and musty; and complain of his Latin inversions, and that Ciceronian fullness of periods, which characterizes the style of the Tuscan novelist. And yet they all agree in awarding him the palm of a strong and energetic writer,

* Denina: *Saggio sopra la Letteratura Italiana.*

and are willing to confess that, single-handed, he did for Italian prose, what Dante and Petrarch had done for its poetry. 'The Decameron of Boccaccio,' says the author we have just quoted, 'is by far the best model of eloquence which Italian literature can boast. There are other writings whose style may be more elegant and pure, others more useful on account of a more obvious and perhaps greater abundance of important information; but without reading the Decameron of Boccaccio, no one can know the true spirit of our language.'

By such writers was the Italian language brought to its highest point of literary culture, before the close of the fourteenth century. During the fifteenth, there is nothing remarkable in its history; but at the commencement of the sixteenth, a literary contest arose concerning it, which terminated in results most favorable to its prevalence and permanency. The writings of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio in the vulgar tongue produced so great a revolution in public taste and raised the language in which they were composed into such repute, that those uninitiated in the mysteries of learning began to jeer the wisdom of the schools, and to point the piercing shaft of ridicule at all who walked before them in the strange and antiquated garb of the Latin. The Academies, too, of which such a vast number saw the light at the commencement of the sixteenth century, began to occupy themselves seriously with the study of the vulgar tongue, examining the works of its classic writers in order to draw from them examples and authorities, whereon to base its philosophical principles, and thus reducing to a regular system, what had previously been the result of usage or caprice. This progress in the Italian language excited the jealousy of all the devotees of the Latin, and they soon declared an exterminating warfare against the intruding dialect. Romolo Amaseo, professor of Eloquence and Belles-lettres at Bologna, was Peter-the-Hermit in this literary crusade: and in the year 1529, in the presence of the emperor Charles V. and Pope Clement VII., he harangued for two successive days against the Italian language, maintaining with eloquence that the Latin ought to reign supreme, and the Italian be degraded to a *patois*, and confined to the peasant's hut, and the shambles and market-places of the city. Many other learned men of the age followed him to the field, and contended with much zeal for the cause of the Latin; some even went so far as to wish the Italian banished entirely

from the world. But stalwart champions were not wanting on the other side; and, to be brief, the impulse of public opinion soon swept away all opposition, and the popular cause was triumphant.* The effect of this was to establish the Italian upon a firmer base. One noble monument of the literary labors of this century in behalf of the Italian, is the Vocabulary of the renowned *Accademia della Crusca*, which was first published in 1612, and has ever since remained the irrefragable code of pure and classic language.

It is unnecessary to pursue the history of the Italian more in detail, or to bring it down to a later period. What changes have since taken place are the gradual and inevitable changes which time works in all things, and which are so picturesquely described by the Latin poet:

> Ut sylvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
> Prima cadunt; ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
> Et juvenum ritu florent modò nata, vigentque.
> * * * * *
> Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
> Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus:
> Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi.

Having thus taken a general survey of the origin and progress of the Italian language, we next proceed to a consideration of its leading dialects. The only difficulty which presents itself in this part of our subject, is to decide with precision where the line of demarcation should be drawn between the leading and the under-dialects; for it will be observed, that some which Dante has ranked among the former, have been classed by modern writers among the latter. For example, he enumerates the *Trevigiano* among the principal dialects; but it is now classed with the under-dialects of the Venetian. Whether this should be attributed to a change in the dialects themselves, or merely to the arbitrary arrangement of writers upon the subject, it is not important to inquire; for even modern authors do not coincide upon this point. Some consider the Veronese as a separate dialect from the Venetian, others as one of its under-dialects: and so with the dialects of some other cities and provinces. In this we shall follow, to the best of our judgment, the specimens of various dialects we

* For a more detailed account of this literary contest, we refer our readers to Ginguené. *Hist. Litt. d' Italie.* T. VII. p. 387, et seq.

have before us, arranging them into leading and under-dialects, according as marked and well-defined characteristics can, or cannot be made out from the language itself.

We shall, then, enumerate seventeen leading dialects in the Italian, consider them separately, and bring forward specimens of the greater part of them. They are

1. The Sicilian.
2. The Calabrian.
3. The Neapolitan.
4. The Roman.
5. The Norcian.
6. The Tuscan.
7. The Bolognese.
8. The Venetian.
9. The Friulian.
10. The Paduan.
11. The Lombard.
12. The Milanese.
13. The Bergamask.
14. The Piedmontese.
15. The Genoese.
16. The Corsican.
17. The Sardinian.

1. The Sicilian. This was the first of the Italian dialects, which was converted to literary uses. So far at least it may be called the mother-tongue of the Italian muse, as Sicily itself has often been called her cradle. It exhibits vestiges, more or less distinct, of all the ancient and successive lords of the island, Greeks, Carthagenians, Romans, Byzantians, Arabs, Normans, Germans, French and Spaniards. Its best form is that spoken at Palermo; though but slight local varieties are to be found in any part of the island. One circumstance, however, is worthy of remark; which is, that in the towns and villages on the southern coast, Arabic words predominate, whereas in all other parts the Greek and Provençal prevail.—The most prominent peculiarities of the Sicilian dialect, as may be seen by the specimens below, are the following;

1. The use of *u* for *o*, and of *i* for *e*; as *timu* for *temo*; *culuritu* for *colorito*; *un* for *no*, etc.

2. Great changes in the consonants; the use of *dd* for *ll*; as *beddo* for *bello*;—of *ch* for *qu* and sometimes for *p*; as *chiddo* for *quello*; *chiù* for *più*;—of *gh* for *gl*; as *voghiu* for *voglio*;—of *r* for *l*; as *affritta* for *afflitta*.—The following line contains several of these peculiarities;

Parra prestu, un pozzu chiù;
Parla presto, non posso più.

3. The frequent elision of initial syllables and letters; as *stu* for *questo*; *ntra* for *intra*; *na* for *una*, etc.

The specimens of the Sicilian dialect which follow will exhibit these peculiarities more in detail, and in connexion with them several others, which it would be useless to particularize. The first is one of the popular *canzonette* of Sicily, and the second comes from the pen of the *Abate Giov. Meli*, a celebrated writer of *Poesie Siciliane*.

Nici mia, comu si fa,
Ardu, abruciu, e un pozzu chiù,
Sugnu amanti persu già,
E nun sacciu comu fù.
Ti guardavi appena, oimè,
E pri un guardu iu murirò,
Miu stu cori chiù nun è
Nici mia; stu cori è tò.

What shall I do, sweet Nici, tell me,
I burn,—I burn,—I can no more!—
I know not how the thing befel me,
But I'm in love, and all is o'er.
One look,—alas! one glance of thine,
One single glance my death shall be;
Even this poor heart no more is mine,
For, Nici, it belongs to thee.

Comu fazzu, Nici, ivi,
St' arma comu riggirà?
Timu un nò, disiu un sì;
Ah di mia, chi mai sarà?
Nun m'ingannu, Amuri, nò,
Ch' hai 'ntra ss' occhi na pietà,
Chi un po stari a latu tò
La tiranna crudeltà.

How shall I then my grief repress,
How shall this soul in anguish live?
I fear a *no*,—desire a *yes*,—
But which the answer thou wilt give?
No,—Love,—not so deceived am I;
Soft pity dwells in those bright eyes,
And no tyrannic cruelty
Within that gentle bosom lies.

Dunca, Nici, parra e dì
Si nun m'ami, o m'ami tu;
Nun lassarimi accussì,
Parra prestu, un pozzu chiù.
Parra prestu, o mai si nò
St' arma affritta torna in se,
Dimmi prestu o sì, o nò,
Lu distinu miu qual è.

Then, fairest Nici, speak and say
If I must know thy love or hate;
Oh, do not leave me thus, I pray,
But speak,—be quick—I cannot wait.
Quick,—I entreat thee;—if not so,
This weary soul no more shall sigh;—
So tell me quickly,—*yes* or *no*,
Which,—which shall be my destiny.

This is one of those simple little songs, which are sung by the Sicilian peasantry, to the sound of the guitar or rustic pipe, in the stillness of a summer evening. That which follows has not the same popular and unaffected character. Its conception exhibits a conceit in the place of the artless simplicity, which characterizes the little canzonet just quoted.

Dimmi, dimmi, apuzza nica,
Unni vai cussi matinu?
Nun c' è cima che arrusica
Di lu munti a nui vicinu.
Trema ancora, ancora luci
La rugiada 'ntra li prati,
Du na accura nun t'arruci
L' ali d' oru dilicati.

Ma l' aluzza s' affatica,
Ma tu voli, e fai caminu;
Dimmi, dimmi, apuzza nica,
Unni vai cussi matinu.

Cerchi meli? e siddu è chissu,
Chiudi l' ali e un ti straccari;
Ti lu 'nzigno un locu fissu,
Unni ai sempri chi sucari.
Lu cunusci lu miu amuri,
Nici mia di l' occhi beddi?
'Ntra ddi labbri c' è un sapuri,
'Na ducizza chi mai speddi.
'Ntra lu labbru culuritu
Di lu caru amatu beni,
C' è lu meli chiù squisitu;
Suca, sucalu, ca veni.

Tell me, tell me, thou pretty bee,
Whither so early thy flight may be?
Not a neighboring mountain height
Yet blushes with the morning light,
Still the dew on spray and blossom
Trembling shines in the meadow's bosom;
Why do I see thee, then, unfold
Thy soft and dainty wings of gold:—
Those little wings are weary quite,
Still thou holdest thine onward flight,—
Then tell me, tell me, thou pretty bee,
Whither so early thy flight may be.

Thou seekest honey?—if it be so,
Fold up thy wings,—no farther go;
I' ll show thee a safe and sacred spot,
Where all the year round 'twill fail thee not.
Knowest thou the maid for whom I sigh,—
Her of the bright and beaming eye?
Endless sweetness shalt thou sip,—
Honied stores upon her lip.
On those lips of brightest red,—
Lips of the beloved maid,—
Sweetest honey lies for thee;—
Sip it,—sip it;—this is she.

The Sicilian dialect has a pretty extensive literature. Among its principal works are, *Le Muse Siciliane;* the Sicilian

Muses, in five volumes; *Poesie Siciliane dell' Abate Giov. Meli;* Sicilian Poems, by Meli, author of the song last quoted; and *La Cuccagna Conquistata, poema heroica in terza rima Siciliana,* The Conquest of Lubberland, an heroic poem in terza rima, by *Giov. Batt. Basili.*

2. The Calabrian. The Calabrian dialect is a connecting link between the Sicilian and the Neapolitan. It possesses many of the peculiarities of each of these, and a few which are found in neither of them. The most remarkable are the following:

1. In the Calabrian dialect the *o* is changed into *u,* almost universally, in the middle, and at the beginning and end of words. This peculiarity is more strongly marked in the Calabrian than in the Sicilian or the Neapolitan, where the *o* not unfrequently occurs. The *e* also is very frequently changed to *i,* as in all the sister dialects of Southern Italy. Thus we have *ugnunu* for *ognuno;* and *pue* for *poi.*

2. The use of *j* for *gi;* and of *nn* for *nd;* as *jurnu* for *giorno;* and *essiennu* for *essendo; vidiennu* for *vedendo.*

3. The frequent reduplication of consonants, at the beginning of words; as *ppe* for *per; llà* for *là.*

4. The termination of the third person singular of the preterite tense in *au* instead of *ò,* and of the third person plural in *ru* instead of *rono;* as *ripusau* for *riposò;* and *pigliaru* for *pigliarono.*

5. The use of *dd* for *ll,* and of *ch* for *p;* as *beddo* for *bello,* and *chiantu* for *pianto:*

Both of these changes are of very frequent recurrence in the Sicilian, and the last is often found in the Neapolitan also.

The following is one of the popular songs of Calabria.

Vitti na tigra dinta na silva scura,
E cu lu chiantu miu mansueta fari.
Vitti cu l' acqua na marmura dura
Calannu a guccia a guccia arrimmudari.
E vui che siti bedda criatura
Vi ni riditi de stu chiantu amari.

I saw a tigress in a woodland dell,
And at my grief the monster's fury slept;
Where drop by drop my tears of anguish fell,
The marble rude was softened as I wept;—

But thou, that art a creature young and pretty,
Dost laugh at griefs, which move even stones to pity.

Tasso's *Gerusalemme* has been translated into the Calabrian dialect, by *Carlo Cusentino*. The edition before us was published at Cosenza in 1737. As a farther illustration of this dialect, we extract a few stanzas from the commencement of the seventh canto in which the flight of Erminia is described. We begin at the third stanza.

3.

Nà notte, cu nu jurnu caminau
Sempre de fuga, e nu ripusau nente,
Le lacrime, e suspiri, chi jettau
Li fau la guida, e autru un vide, ò sente;
Ma quanno pue lu sule se curcau,
Se truvaud' arrivata allu currente
De lu Jurdanu, llà se ferma, e scinne
De lu cavallu, ca chiù un li ne tenne.

4.

De mangiare un hà gula, ca la doglia
Sazia la tene, e chiange de cuntinu;
Ma lu suonnu l' assauta, e la cunvoglia,
E li dà na culatica, e nu ncinu.
La sversa, e d' ogne mbaschia ti la spoglia,
Cessa de macinare lu mulinu;
Ma puru Amure a chine jace nterra
Durmiennu move scarde, e porta guerra.

5.

Nè mai se risvigliava, s'un sentia
Lu cantu de l' augelli, e lu remure,
Ch' all' arvuli lu vientu te facia,
E ncielu campijava lu sbiannure.
Aperse l' uocchi, e sulu illa vidia
Capanne de furisi alle cuture
Trà l' acqua, e frasche, parse de sentire
Vuce, chi la nvitava allu chiancire.

It is unnecessary to translate this, as all our readers can refer to the original or to an English translation. It will be perceived, that the Calabrian translator does not adhere very closely to the Italian original, particularly in those passages in which figurative language is introduced. Here he generally

brings the figure down to the capacities of a rude Calabrian peasant, as in the line *Cessa de macinare lu mulinu*, the mill ceases to grind,—which is employed to represent the approach of sleep; though in the original, sleep is said 'to spread its soft and quiet wings over Erminia.' The same kind of liberty is taken in the beautiful apostrophe to the muse, with which the first canto opens. The muse is there invoked as 'seated in heaven among the glorious choir, and wearing a golden crown of immortal stars;' but the Calabrian poet addresses her as the guardian angel of the villager, *che derizze l' acqua allu mulinu*, who guides the water to the mill!

3. The Neapolitan. The Neapolitan is one of the master-dialects of Italy. In its train it counts several under-dialects, such as the *Pugliese* or Apulian, the Sabine, and that of the island of Capri. Even in Naples, the different quarters of the city are marked by different jargons, though it is not to be supposed that these subdivisions exhibit any varieties so striking as to diminish the universal sway of *Pulcinella*, or to prevent that monarch's voice from being understood in every nook and corner of his own peculiar dominion.

Some of the leading and characteristic marks of the Neapolitan dialect are these;

1. The following changes in the vowels; *e* for *i*, as *marenare* for *marinari*; *i* for *e*, as *friddo* for *freddo*; *u* for *o*, as *dolure* for *dolore*; and the frequent introduction of *i* or *j* between two vowels, and sometimes between a vowel and a consonant; as *aje* for *ai*; *vaje* for *vai*; *doje* for *due*; and *cchiesia* for *chiesa*.

2. The use of *ch* for *p*, as *chiù* for *più*; of *r* for *l*, as *obbrigazione* for *obbligazione*; the misplacing of *r* in words where it properly belongs, as *rape* for *apri*; and the use of *nn* for *nd*, as *quanno* for *quando*; *vennenno* for *vendendo*; *addimmannaje* for *addomandai*.

3. The elision of the initial vowel in many words; as *no* for *uno*; *mporta* for *importa*; *mpietto* for *in petto*; *npace* for *in pace*; and the suppression of the final syllables of the infinitive, as *parlà* for *parlare*.

4. The reduplication of initial consonants, as *mme* for *me*; *ppe* for *per*, *mmiezo* for *mezzo*; and the addition of *ne* to the personal pronouns, as *mene* for *me*; *tene* for *te*.

We select our illustrations of the Neapolitan dialect from

among the popular songs of the country. The first is a *canzonetta*, whose air is one of the simplest and sweetest melodies to which we ever listened.

No juorno jenno a spasso oje pe lo mare,
Sto core mme cadette int' a l' arena.
Addimmannaje a cierte marenare,
Dice che l' hanno visto oje mpiett' a tene.
Io so benuto pe te lo cercare,
Io senza core e tu duje ne tiene.
E quann' è chesto embè, sa che buò fare?
Lo tujo mme daje e lu mio te tiene.

One morning, on the sea-shore as I strayed,
My heart dropped in the sand beside the sea;
I asked of yonder mariners, who said
They saw it in thy bosom,—worn by thee.
And I am come to seek that heart of mine,
For I have none, and thou, alas! hast two,
If this be so, dost know what thou shalt do?—
Still keep my heart, and give me, give me thine.

The next piece we offer is a *Canzone di Soldato*, a soldier's song. It is so very simple in its structure and language, that we paraphrase rather than translate it.

1.
"Chi bussa alla mia porta,
"Chi bussa e chi sarà?"
Al caro amante e sposo
Rape non dubbetà.
2.
"Non pozz' araperire,
"Ca mmma non ce stà."
Non me fa chiù sperire
Rape ppe caretà.
3.
"Senza trasì a chest' ora,
"Da fora puoje parlà."
Aje! ca fa friddo fora,
Dinto famme scarfà.

1.
"Who knocks,—who knocks at my door,
"Who knocks, and who can it be?"
Thy own true lover, betrothed forever,
So open the door to me.

2.

"My mother is not at home,
"So I cannot open to thee."
Why make me wait so long at the gate,
For mercy's sake open to me.

3.

"Thou canst not come in so late,
"From the window I 'll listen to thee."
My cloak is old, and the wind blows cold,
So open the door to me.

The next extract will exhibit the dialect of the Neapolitan peasantry. It is a *Pastorale de' Zampognari*, one of those little rural hymns, which the *zampognari* or pipers from the Abruzzi and Calabrian mountains sing before the images of the Virgin at the corners of the streets in Rome and Naples, at the season of Advent, accompanied by the sound of their rustic bagpipes.

1.

Quanno nascette Ninno a Betelemme,
Era notte e parea miezo juorno;
Maje li stelle
Lustere e belle
Se vedetteno accussi
La chiù lucente
Jettea chiammà li Magi in Oriente.

2.

No 'ncerano nemice ppe la terra,
La pecora pascea co lo lione,
Co lu crapette
Se vedette
Lu liopardo pazzià,—
L' urzo e o vitiello,
E co lo lupo 'npace u pecoriello.

3.

Guardavano le pecore li pasture,
E l' Angelo sbrannente chiù de lu sole
Comparette
E le dicette,
Non ve spaventate, nò;
Contento e riso
La terra è arreventata Paraviso.

1.

When Christ was born in Bethlehem,
'T was night, but seemed the noon of day;
The stars, whose light
Was pure and bright,
Shone with unwavering ray;
But one, one glorious star
Guided the Eastern Magi from afar.

2.

Then peace was spread throughout the land,
The lion fed beside the tender lamb,
And with the kid,
To pastime led,
The spotted leopard fed;
In peace the calf and bear,
The wolf and lamb reposed together there.

3.

As shepherds watched their flocks by night,
An Angel, brighter than the sun's own light,
Appeared in air,
And gently said,
Fear not,—be not afraid,
For lo! beneath your eyes,
Earth has become a smiling paradise.

The popular literature of the Neapolitan dialect is quite extensive. Among the most celebrated works are the *Opere in Lingua Napoletana* of *Guil. Ces. Cortese;* a selection of Neapolitan poetry, in two volumes, entitled *Rime Scelte di vari illustri Poeti Napolitani;* and *Il Pentamerone (Lo Cunto de li Cunti) del Cavalier Giambattista Basile.* Three comedies of *Nicolò Aminta*, entitled '*La Gostanza;*' '*Il Forca,*' and '*La Fante,*' are written partly in this dialect.

4. The Roman. The Roman is by far the most easily understood of all the Italian dialects, though at the same time neither the most beautiful nor the most cultivated. At its origin, it seems to have been the rudest of all, corresponding to the base character of the degraded Romans. * But this

* Dante, in his treatise *de Vulg. Eloq.* observes; "Dicimus ergo Romanorum non *vulgare*, sed potius *tristiloquium*, Italorum Vulgarium omnium esse turpissimum; nec mirum, cum etiam morum habituumque deformitate prae cunctis videantur foetere." Cap. XI.

was while the Papal Court resided at Avignon. Its removal to Rome produced doubtless a great change in the language of that city; and the great concourse of strangers and particularly of ecclesiastics from all quarters of Italy must have had a tendency to deprive it of local and provincial peculiarities, and to give it a character more conformable to the written language of Italy; for all who resorted thither from the remoter towns and provinces would naturally, in their daily intercourse, divest their speech of the grosser peculiarities of their respective dialects.

The Roman populace is divided into three pretty distinct and well defined classes;—the *Monteggiani*, who inhabit the region of the Esquiline, Quirinal and Capitoline hills; the *Popolanti*, who reside in the neighborhood of the Porta del Popolo, both within and without the gate; and the *Trasteverini*, who live on the western bank of the Tiber, toward St. Peter's and the Janiculum. Each of these classes has some distinguishing peculiarities in its dialect, and to these three divisions of the *linguaggio Romanesco* may be added a fourth, that of the *Ghetto*, or Jewish quarter of Rome. This last is rather a dialect of a dialect, and may be found in most of the Italian cities.

The leading peculiarities of the *Romanesco* are the following:

1. The elision of the final syllable, particularly in infinitives and participles, and not unfrequently of the initial syllable in other words; as *fà* for *fare; pensà* for *pensato; so* for *sono*; *rugante* for *arrogante; sto* for *questo*, etc.

2. The substitution of *ne* in many words for the syllable thus cut off, and the addition of the same letters to the termination of other words; as *coprine* for *coprire; sapene* for *sapere; dirone* for *dirò*.

3. The frequent suppression of the letter *d;* as *quanno* for *quando; annà* for *andare*.

4. The use of *r* instead of *l*, and the misplacing these two letters in those words wherein they occur; as *quer* for *quel; ber* for *bel; der* for *del; grolia* for *gloria; crapa* for *capra*. This last peculiarity is the most prevalent and striking. Examples of most of these will be found in the following 'Tarantella Trasteverina.'

Gioventù de Roma bella
Ci ho una nova tarantella,

Tarantella degli dei,
Ascortate amici miei.
Canterò con viso adorno
Delle donne d'oggi giorno,
Tanto de giovane, quanto d' anziane,
Le donne so tutte tigre umane.

Maritate e vedovelle,
Principierone dalle zitelle;
Le zitelle che sono minenti *
So tutte rugante, impertinenti.
Ve dirone senza inganno
La furberia che loro hanno;
Quanno s' arzeno la mattina
Ogni ragazza s' impimpina.

Le ricci finti, e le ciambelle †,
Benchè so brutte vonno essè belle;
Con quella vesta e quer zinalino,
La scarpa attillata al ber piedino.
Stanno sempre alla tolette,
Per poi fane le civette.

* * *

Amorous youth of Rome's fair city,
I have here a new-made ditty,
A tarantella all divine,—
Listen,—listen, friends of mine.
I will sing with smiling face,
Of the dames of now-a-days,
Young and old, and great and small,
Human tigers are they all.

Married dames and widows pretty,—
But with the maids begins my ditty:
They, to shine as *belles* intent,
Are haughty and impertinent.
I will tell without deceit
How they practise many a cheat,

* Among the Trasteverini, the exquisites of both sexes are called *minenti.*

† The female *minenti* confine the hair upon their temples, by means of circular plates of silver or brass. These are called *ciambelle*, from their resemblance to a small cake of that name, a jumbal.

How they all their mornings pass
To prink themselves before the glass.

Plaited trinkets and false hair,—
Though ugly, they would still be fair;
With showy gown and bodice neat,
And shoes well fitted to their feet,
They at the toilet learn the arts
Of flirting, and coquetting hearts.

* * *

Like the Sicilian and Neapolitan dialects, the *Romanesco* has its literature. One of its most celebrated works is a mock-heroic poem, entitled *El Maggio Romanesco*, The Roman May-pole. It is a poem of twelve cantos in *ottava rima*, and the subject is thus announced in the opening stanza:

Il palio conquestato, e le sgherrate
Bizzare io canto, e li tremendi affronti,
Amori e sdegni, e risse ingarbugliate
Che fece un Bravo del Rion dei Monti;
Li sfarzi de le Belle innamorate,
L' astuzie de i Zerbini argute e pronti,
Bisbigli, e impicci, e tiritosti a soma
Successi drento al Gran Castel di Roma.

The conquered May-pole,—quarrels fierce and hearty,
Yet whimsical, I sing;—insults tremendous,—
And loves and jealousies, and strifes of party
A *Monteggiano* bully here doth send us;—
The follies of the fair *innamorate*,—
The tricks of gallants ready to defend us,—
The troubles, toils and tumbles, that befel
The people of the Roman Citadel.

Another work of great note and popularity among the common people of Rome is '*El Meo Patacca, ovvero Roma in festa pei trionfi di Vienna, poema giocoso nel linguaggio Romanesco di Gius. Berneri:*' Meo Patacca, or Rome in its glory at the Deliverance of Vienna, a comic poem in the *romanesco* dialect, by Jos. Berneri. This poem recounts the heroic valor, the loves and jealousies of the hero Meo Patacca, a champion of the Roman populace, who endeavors to raise a

plebeian cohort to march to the relief of Vienna; but news being received that the siege of that city was raised, they turn the fury of their arms against the poor Jews, and the poem closes with the assault and capture of the Ghetto.

The peculiarities which now mark the Roman dialect are the same, which characterized it two centuries ago. The lapse of time seems to have produced but slight and almost imperceptible changes. Setting aside the operation of foreign and external causes, the fluctuations of a language must depend upon literary cultivation; and as, generally speaking, the vulgar tongue of a provincial populace never possesses a literature calculated to improve and perfect the forms of language, so it will suffer but few and trifling changes, unless political or other external causes operate to produce them.

We have before us a little book in the popular tongue, printed at Rome in the year 1627, and sold 'at the sign of the Golden Wolf in Piazza Navona,' the great forum of the mob of modern Rome. It is entitled '*Li Strapazzati, Comedia Nova di Giovanni Briccio, Romano. Opera non meno ridicolosa, che honesta:*' which may be thus translated; 'More Kicks than Coppers, a New Comedy by John Briccio, Roman. A work no less *ridiculous* than moral.' The characters introduced into the piece are several peasants from the mountains of Norcia, a Roman porter, or *facchino*, a Neapolitan, a Venetian, and a Jew. The following extract is from a scene between Zanni *facchino*, and Pasquarello *Napolitano*. Each speaks in his native dialect, as may be seen by comparing this with previous extracts. Opposite the text we place a very literal translation, for the most part word for word.

Zan. Se volif che ve aiuta
Desim la maniera,
Che mi de bona cera
Farò ol tutt.
Pasq. Boglio che facci mutto
A chilla Zitelletta,
Chiamata Violetta
Tua vicina.
E dince la rouina
Ca me hà fatto Cupido,
Quale con uno spido
Me hà infirzato:
E me hà bruscoliato
Justo come saraca,

Zan. If you wish me to aid you,
Tell me the manner,
And I right merrily
Will do all you wish. [speak
Pasq. I wish that thou should'st
To that pretty little maiden
Called Violetta,
Thy neighbor.
And tell her the ruin
That Cupid has made of me,
Who with a spit [through,
Has run me through and
And has roasted me
Just like a herring,

O commo na lumaca
Sul carbone.
E che haggia compassione
A chisso sfortunato,
Ca so mezzo arraggiato,
E mal contento.
E che un bello presento
Dappoi io le faraggio,
Nante ca venga Maggio
E allo chiú Aprile.

Zan. Vú se tanto zentil
Che sont appareccià
De volermi intrigà
In sto lauur.
Ma prima che fauur
Hauì pensà de fà,
A mi che hò da trattà
Sto parentat?

Pasq. Io haggio penzato
Darete un Coccodrillo
Venuto dallo Nillo
Del' Egitto . . .
E mo damme la mano
Pigliate ste carline,
Comprate doi galline
E manciatelle.
Eccote doi ciamelle
De chille biscottate,
Ca me l' hà presentate
Pannicone.

Zan. Oh quest è ben vn don
Fatt da Napolitan,
Qual è stretto de man
E largh de bocca.
Orsù quando al me tocca,
Che venga occasion
Che farò un bel sermon
Laghe fà à mi.

Or like a snail
Upon charcoal.
And bid her have compassion
On a poor devil,
For I am half mad,
And quite woe-begone.
And tell her a brave present
Afterwards I will make her,
Before May comes,
Or at the farthest, April.

Zan. You are so genteel,
That I am all ready
And willing to engage
In this labor.
But, first, what present
Have you thought of making
To me, who am to treat
In this negociation?

Pasq. I have thought
Of giving thee a crocodile
Brought from the Nile
Of Egypt. . .
And now give me your hand,
Take these carlines,
Buy two chickens
And eat them.
Here are two jumbals for thee
Of those that are twice baked,
Which were presented to me
By Pannicone.

Zan. Oh, this is indeed a gift
Made by a Neapolitan,
Who is close-fisted
And open-mouthed. [act,
But come on; when I am to
Let the occasion present itself,
And I will preach you a fine ser-
Let me alone for that. [mon,

We add a few lines from the part of the Jewish pedler, as a specimen of the very corrupt and barbarous dialect of the *Ghetto*, or Jewish quarter of Rome.

Me fanno lo bordello,
Me entronano lo tachete,
E io che haggio pachete
Sto zitto.
Mo me ne endauo ritto
Gridando ferrauecchio,
E portauo no specchio
E altri bagagli,
E sento dire dagli,

They pass rude jests upon me,
They stun me with their din,
And I who wear a pack
Am silent.
Now I was passing straight on
Crying old iron,
And carrying a looking-glass,
And other wares,
And I heard them cry "hit him!"

E uno certo sciutè	And a certain ragamuffin
Medette fin a tre	Gave me as many as three
Boti alla testa;	Blows upon the head;
E poi una tempesta	And then a tempest came,
Guidato dallo diauolo,	Directed by the devil,
Tutti torzi de cauoli	All stumps of cabbages
Cossì grossi.	As large as this.

5. The Norcian. Proceeding northward from the Eternal City, the next dialect we encounter is the *romana rustica* of Norcia; the dialect which Dante designates as the *Spoletano*. Norcia is a small city in the duchy of Spoleto, about fifty miles north-east from Rome. The language spoken there and in the surrounding country is called the *dialetto Norcino*. Its most prominent and remarkable peculiarities, some of which it holds in common with the *Romanesco*, are;

1. The use of *r* for *l*; as *ro* for *lo*; *diauro* for *diavolo*.

2. The addition of *ne* to the termination of words; as *mene* for *me*.

3. The frequent suppression of consonants, particularly of *v* and *d*; as *faellare* for *favellare*; *Maonna* for *Madonna*; *quachun* for *qualcuno*; *poeritto* for *poveretto*; and occasionally a few others, which will be observed in the following specimen. It is from the same source as the last extracts,—the *opera non meno ridicolosa che honesta*; and is extracted from a page or two of good advice, which Rampino, *villano delle montagne di Norcia*, gives to his daughter Violetta, respecting the gallants of Rome.

Se qualche callabrone	If any buzzing wasp
De quissi Zerbinotti,	Of those little dandies
Che fanno con pancotti	Who with puddings
Gliù collaro,	Pad out their cravats, [strong
Fussi alluscì somaro	Should be so bold and head-
A volerte faellare,	As to wish to speak to thee,
Non lo stare ascoltare	Stay not to listen,
Ca te accido.	For I will kill thee.
Quanto che me ne rido	O how it makes me laugh
Che quissi spaccauenti,	To see these nincompoops,
Che stuzzican 'i denti	Who pick their teeth
Col stecchitto,	With tooth-picks,
E fanno lo Spagnolitto,	And play the Spanish Don,
Ro Duca, e ro Marchese,	The Duke, and the Marquis,
Ne mai hanno in vn mese	And have not in a whole month
Doi baiocchi.	Two cents in their pockets.
Se quachun dice leie	If any one say "read
Sa littera, non gliù fare,	This letter," read it not,
Se non voi scapezzare	If thou dost not wish to feel
No bastone.	This cane of mine.

Dagli no buffettone,	Give him a fillip,
Versace gliù caudaro	Pour upon him a kettle
D'acqua, e de gliù somaro	Of water, etc.
Lu stabbietto	
E digli una capezza	
Te pozza strangolare,	
E non pozzi cagare	
Na volta l' anno.	
Ca le vengha el malanno	
A quissi caga stecchi,	
Che vogliono far becchi	
I contadini.	

A part of the above extract we refrain from translating: which part, it will be perceived, is rather more *ridicolosa* than *honesta*. This Norcian dialect has but little literature. Indeed we know of nothing belonging to it, save a part of a poem entitled *Tito Vespasiano*, by Giovan. Batista Lalli,—which was translated into this dialect by the author, who was a native of Norcia.

6. The Tuscan. The dialect of Tuscany sends forth six distinct branches. Each of these divisions is marked by its peculiarities. They are

1. *Toscano Fiorentino*, spoken at Florence.
2. *Toscano Sanese*, spoken at Siena.
3. *Toscano Pistoiano*, spoken at Pistoia.
4. *Toscano Pisano*, spoken at Pisa.
5. *Toscano Lucchese*, spoken at Lucca.
6. *Toscano Aretino*, spoken at Arezzo.

In the Florentine dialect, a distinction is also made between the *lingua Fiorentina di città*, or the language of the lower classes in the city, and the *lingua Fiorentina rustica di contado*, or the language of the peasantry in the vicinity. The Florentine *di città* is also subdivided, within the very walls of the city, into the two dialects of the *Mercato Vecchio* and the *Mercato Nuovo*, and the *riboboli* or pithy sayings of either of these quarters of the city would not be fully understood and felt by the inhabitants of the other.

The leading peculiarities of the *Florentine* dialect are:

1. The strong aspiration, or guttural sound of the Spanish *jota*, given to *ca*, *che*, *chi*; as in *casa*, which the Florentine pronounces *hasa*; and in *che*, *chi*, which he changes to *he*, *hi*, with a strong aspirate.

2. The elision of the initial syllable of words; as *gnuno* for *ognuno; gli* for *egli; moroso* for *amoroso;* and of the unaccented *a* in the future and conditional tenses of verbs of the first conjugation; as *drà* for *darà; strò* for *starò; fresti* for *faresti.*

3. The addition of *ne* to the termination of words, as in the Southern dialects of Italy; as *mene* for *me; piune* for *più.*

The principal works in the Florentine dialect are the following; *La Tancia, di Michelangelo Buonarroti,* nephew of the celebrated artist; *La Fiera* (The Fair) a collection of comedies in the city-dialect; *Malmantile Racquistato di Perlone Zipoli* (Lorenzo Lippi); *Conte Note di Puelcio Lamoni* (Paolo Minucci); and the Life of *Benvenuto Cellini,* written by himself.

The *Toscano Sanese* is the same in the main as the Florentine. It has however one peculiarity worthy of notice. This is the change of the unaccented *e* into *a;* as *lettara* for *lettera; essare* for *essere,* etc. This dialect has a great deal of literature; but it consists chiefly of rustic comedies and farces. In addition to these, it can boast a translation of Claudian's Rape of Proserpine.

Among all the Tuscan dialects, the *Pistoian* has the least of the disagreeable *gorgia fiorentina,* or guttural aspirate of Florence. Its peculiarities are, the use of *eri* for *ere* in the singular of nouns, as *cavalieri* for *cavaliere,* etc.—the change of *u* into *o,* as *omore* for *umore,* etc., and the elision of the final *o* in the adjective pronouns; as *mi genitore* for *mio genitore; tu fratello* for *tuo fratello.* In this dialect is written a work entitled *Desiderio e Speranza, commedia fantastica di Des. Cino da Pistoia.*

The dialect of *Pisa* is more strongly marked with the Florentine aspirate. Besides this, it changes the accented *ò* of the first person singular of the future into *ù;* as *amerù* for *amerò; crederù* for *crederò.* The *z* is often changed to *s;* as *piassa* for *piazza;* and *l* to *r,* as *rimosine* for *limosine; ro* for *lo,* etc.

The dialect of Lucca has the reputation of being as pure as any, if not the purest, among the Tuscan dialects. Still it is not without its vulgarisms and plebeian peculiarities. As specimens of these, may be taken the peculiarities just enumerated as belonging to the Pisan dialect, with the exception of the interchange of *l* and *r.* In addition to these it has a few others, but not sufficiently marked to deserve enumeration.

The most remarkable peculiarity of the dialect of Arezzo is the change of the unaccented *e* into *a*, as in the dialect of Siena; thus *amarò* is used for *amerò*, etc. To this may be added the use of the preposition with the article, without doubling the *l* of the article; as *co la* for *colla; a lo* for *allo.*

The following song is a specimen of the *lingua Fiorentina di contado.* It is extracted from the *Tancia* of *Buonarroti, Acto* I. *Scena Quarta.*

E s' io son bella, io son bella per mene,
Nè mi curo d' aver de' gaveggini;
E non mi curo gnun mi voglia bene
Nè manco vo' ch' altri mi faccia 'nchini.
A gnun non vo prometter la mia fene,
Sebben mi voglion ben de' cittadini;
Ch' i' ho sentito dir, che gli amadori
Son poi alle fanciulle traditori.

Ma s' un che mene piace aver credessi,
E ch' io pensassi di parergli bella,
E' potrebb' esser ch' io mi risolvessi
Di ber anch' io d' amor alla scodella.
Gli ha i più begli occhi che mai si vedessi,
Gli ha quella bocca, ch' e' par una stella,
Gli è mansovieto, dabbene e benigno,
Non è come qualcun bizzoco e arcigno.

Quel ch' e' si sia l' Amore, io nol so bene,
E non so s' io mi sono innamorata;
Ma gli è ver ch' e' c' è un ch' io gli vo bene,
E sento un gran piacer quand e' mi quata,
E 'l sento più quand' e' s' appressa a mene;
E pel contradio, poich' e' mi ha lasciata,
Par ch' e' mi lasci un nidio senza l' ova;
Che cosa è Amor? ditelmi un po', chi 'l prova.

If I am fair 't is for myself alone,
I do not wish to have a sweetheart near me,
Nor would I call another's heart my own,
Nor have a gallant lover to revere me.
For surely I will plight my faith to none,
Though many an amorous cit would jump to hear me;
For I have heard that lovers prove deceivers,
When once they find that maidens are believers.

Yet should I find one that in truth could please me,
One whom I thought my charms had power to move,
Why then, I do confess the whim might seize me,
To taste for once the porringer of love.
Alas! there is one pair of eyes that tease me,
And then that mouth!—he seems a star above,
He is so good, so gentle, and so kind,
And so unlike the sullen, clownish hind.

What love may be, indeed I cannot tell,
Nor if I e'er have known his cunning arts;
But true it is, there's one I *like* so well,
That when he looks at me my bosom starts;
And, if we meet, my heart begins to swell;
And the green fields around, when he departs,
Seem like a nest, from which the bird has flown:
Can this be love?—say—ye who love have known!

For a specimen of the vulgar Florentine dialect, as spoken in the thirteenth century, we refer our readers back to the extract we have already given from the *Pantaffio* of Brunetto Latini, p. 295.

7. The Bolognese. The Bolognese is the most southern of the harsh Lombard dialects of the north of Italy. In this dialect, not only are the vowels cut off at the termination of words, but, generally speaking, a word loses all its vowels, saving that which bears the accent. Indeed, its elements may be considered,—we use the forcible but very inelegant metaphor of a modern English traveller,*—as 'Tuscan vocables gutted and trussed.' This condensation of words by the suppression of their vowels constitutes the leading peculiarity of the Bolognese dialect. The following are examples of these contractions: *asn* for *asino*; *lagrm* for *lagrime*; *de volt* for *delle volte*; *pr* for *per*; *st* for *questo*; *bj* for *belli*; etc.

Dante speaks in praise of the Bolognese dialect.† He calls it a beautiful language, *ad laudabilem suavitatem temperata.*

* Letters from the North of Italy: addressed to Henry Hallam, Esq. Vol. II. p. 12.

† *De Vulg. Eloq.* Lib. prim. Cap. XV.

He gives his reasons for this opinion, but it would be useless to detail them.

The subjoined specimen of the Bolognese is from Adelung's Mithridates. It is the Lord's Prayer.

Pader noster, ch' si in Cil,
Si pur santificà al voster nom ;
Vegna 'l voster regn ;
Sia fatta la vostra volontà, com in Cil,
cosi in terra ;
'L noster pan quotidian daz incù ;
E perdonaz i noster debit, sicom noalter
i perdonen ai noster debitur ;
E n c' indusi in tentazion :
Ma liberaz da mal. Amen.

The literature of the Bolognese dialect is extensive. Among its more prominent works are the following.

Bulogna Jubilant, puema strampalà, fatt pr gli algrezz d' la liberazion d' Viena, Morea, e Dalmazia, dai Turch.

La Ruina d' Troja in uttava Rima in Lengua Bulgnesa.— Both of these works are by *Geminiano Megnani.*

L' Dsgrazi d' Bertuldin dalla Zena miss' in rima da G. M. B. (Giuseppe Maria Bovina.)

La Gran Crida di Vergon, da Giulio Cesare Croce.

Camillo Scaligeri; Della Favella naturale di Bologna.

Ovid Mont-Alban; Vindicie del parlar Bolognese e Lombardo.

Giov. Ant. Bumaldi; Vocabolista Bolognese.

8. The Venetian. The Venetian is the most beautiful of all the Italian dialects. Its pronunciation is remarkably soft and pleasant, the sound of the *sch* and *tsch*, so frequent in the Tuscan and Southern dialects, being changed into the soft *s*, and *ts*. This peculiarity of the Venetian, surrounded as it is by the harsh, unmusical dialects of the north, can be attributed to no other cause than the local situation of the city. Sheltered in the bosom of the Adriatic, it lay beyond the sweep of those barbarous hordes, which ever and anon with desolating blast swept the north of Italy like a mountain wind. Hence it grew up soft, flexible and melodious, and unencumbered with those harsh and barbarous sounds, which so

strikingly deform the neighboring dialects of the north of Italy.

The leading peculiarities of the Venetian dialect are the following:

1. The change of

i into *e;* as *desperare* for *disperare; el* for *il; de* for *di;*

c into *g;* as *amigo* for *amico;*

gi into *zi;* as *zirando* for *girando;*

ce into *se;* as *diseva* for *diceva; vose* for *voce;* etc.

2. The use of the objective case of pronouns for the nominative, as *mi* for *io;* and of *xe* (the *x* having the sound of the soft *s*) for *è* or *c' è.*

3. The change of the termination in *gajo* to *ghiero;* as *botegheiro* for *bottegajo*, etc. and the use of *gh* for *gl*, as *ghe* for *gli*, etc.; and sometimes for *ci*, as *gh' è* for *c' è*, etc.

The two following specimens of this dialect were written by Toni Toscan, a Venetian gondolier, formerly in the service of Lord Byron, and one of the few who can still sing a stanza from Tasso. Having discovered that Toni had been one of Byron's gondoliers, we made numerous inquiries concerning the Noble Poet, all of which he answered somewhat in detail, and concluded by informing us, that, 'like master like man,' he was himself a little given to rhyme, and had written, and addressed to Byron a *Soneto a la Veneziana.* As a proof of his poetical abilities, he wrote in our presence the following lines, which say more for his chirography than for his inspiration, but which, nevertheless, we present to our readers, by way of introduction to that which follows. We copy the piece exactly as it was written, without period or comma.

OTTOVA

Al Nobil Signor ———— Merican.

Dal caso un dì a venezia
à stando al Traghetto
ma domandà un sogietto
ch' giera American
E mi ò Risposo a sù
con pronta servitù
che so Toni Toscan
á sto Famoso Foresto
chè giùsto Merican

Subito me Risercà
del Nobile biron
ch' està el mio bon Patron
quando a venezia està
Col Tempo material
zirando el gran canal
sempre ma Risercà.
e do stanse del Tasso
subito gho cantà
Pien de umiltà e Rispetto
me cavo el mio cappello
de cuor ghe inchino el capo
A ——— ———

OCTAVE

To the Noble signor —— American.

By chance one day at Venice,
as I stood at the Ferry
there asked for me a person
who was an American.
And I replied to him
with ready service,
I am Toni Toscan,—
to this famous stranger,
who is exactly the American.
Forthwith he inquired of me
concerning the noble Byron,
who is my good Patron
when he is in Venice.
At our own time and leisure
floating along the grand canal,
he did again request me,
and two stanzas of Tasso
I forthwith sang to him.
Full of humility and respect
I take off my hat
and, from my heart, I bow my head
to ——— ———

The next day the gondolier brought us the poem we have alluded to above, written upon a large sheet of paper and headed '*All' Destinto Merito del Nobil Signor Norde Biron Soneto a la Veneziana.*' The poet begins by praising his lordship's 'constancy, love and goodness,'—and promises

to sing his name through all Venice as a hero, the flower of eloquence, and, what is more to the point, a '*sogieto veramente singolar.*' We shall present the last half of this curious document to our readers, in a faithful copy from the original.

Versi no i xe del bel monte parnaso
ne del dolse licor de quel bel vaso
Altro no digo e taso
el barcariol Toscan con questa frasa
pien de umiltà la bella man ghe basa.
La musa vuol che tasa
sto igniorante Poeta da dozena
che no xe bon da doperar la pena
Apolo de me sena
ve invoco vu che se el mio protetor
che un prendise voi farghe a sto signor
Cho la vose e col cuor.
Tiogho in man un ghotto de vin bon
e viva e viva el gran Norde biron
A sto so bon Paron
Pien di rispetto el barcariol Toscan
ghe inchina el capo e ghe basa la man.
Mio begninio lettor questo el Poeta un Tal
Toni Toscan al Traghetto in Piazzeta.

'These are no verses of the beautiful mount Parnassus, nor of the sweet liquor of that fair vase: No more I say, but am silent. The gondolier Toscan, with this salutation, full of humility kisses his fair hand. The muse commands to be silent this ignorant paltry rhymester, who is not skilled to wield the pen. Aid me, Apollo; you I invoke, who are my protector; for I would toast this noble gentleman with voice and heart. I take in my hand a glass of good wine, and *viva, viva* the great *Norde biron* (Lord Byron). To this good patron, full of respect the gondolier Toscan bows his head and kisses his hand.'

'My gentle reader, this the poet, a certain Toni Toscan at the boat-landing in the *Piazzeta.*'

These are specimens of the vulgar dialect of Venice among the lowest class of the people. The extract which follows is a specimen of the same dialect, as consecrated to literary uses. It is extracted from the Poems of *Gritti*,—'*Poesie di Francesco Gritti in dialetto Veneziano*,' p. 230. The piece is entitled '*El Progeto de l' Aseno*,' the Ass's Project;—the reader will at once recognize the familiar fable.

Diseva un Aseno
Ben bastonà:
No gh' è giustizia
Nè carità.
Perchè, mo, a Trotolo
Can del fator,
Tante mignognole,
Tanto favor? . . .
Quai xe i so meriti
Voria saver?
Mi no so vederli
Da Cavalier;
Alzarse, e meterghe
Le zate in man,
Saltarghe ai totani
Farghe bacan. . . .
E grazia, e spirito
Anca mi gò;—
Orsù, provemose,
Lo imiterò.
E la so massima
Fissà cussì,
La metè in pratica
L' istesso dì.
Torna da Vespero
O dal Perdon,
Col padre Ipolito,
El so Paron!
Col vede l' Aseno
Ch' i è là, ch' i vien,
Se mete a l' ordene
Se posta ben;
E su drezzandose
Lesto, e gentil
In perpendicolo
Da campanil,
Spalanca in ipsilon
Le zampe, e zò;
Al colo butase
De tuti dò . . . .
Misericordia!
Ajuto! oimè!
E a gambe in aria
Va tuti tre. *etc.*

Said an ass one day—
For well beaten was he,
There is neither justice
Nor pity for me.
Why, now, to Tray,
The steward's fat hound,
Do gentle caresses
And favors abound?
Pray what are his merits,
I should like well to hear?
I do n't like to see him
Thus play Cavalier.
He jumps up, and places
His paws in their hands,
And gambols about them
Or drivelling stands. . . .
Now both grace and spirit
I also can claim,
So, up! let us see
If I can 't do the same.
This very sage purpose
The 'Vicar of Bray'
Put duly in practice
That very same day.
Returning from Vespers
Or from the Communion,
With Father Hypolitus
Came the Steward in union.
When the jackass beheld
The approach of his host,
He gets all in order,
And stands at his post.
Standing up as genteelly
As two-legged people,
In a line perpendicular
Like a church steeple,
In the shape of a *upsilon*
His legs doth he reach,
And places a hoof
On the shoulder of each.
O mercy upon us!—
Help! help! wo is me!
With their legs in the air,
Down fall the whole three.

We crave pardon for our doggerel; but as we cite the piece solely in illustration of the language in which it is written, we neither deem it important to give it entire, nor to consume much time in endeavoring to translate it elegantly.

In none of the Italian dialects has so much been written for the stage, as in the Venetian. Among these theatrical

pieces, the most celebrated is Goldoni's comedy entitled *i Rusteghi.* The following are the titles of other works in this dialect: *Canzoni di Nic. Cosmico ; Rime Pescatorie di And. Calmo ; Lettere facete e chiribizzose in lingua antiga Veneziana di Vinc Belando ; Traduzion dal Toscan in Lengua Veneziana de Bertholdo,* with the original Tuscan, and an explanation of Venetian words and phrases. To these may be added the work, from which our last extract was taken, '*Poesie di Francesco Gritti in dialetto Veneziano.*'

9. The Friulian. The Friulian, or *dialetto Furlano,* is the language of the province of Friuli, lying north of the Venetian gulf, and bounded westward by the Trevisan, the Feltrin and the Bellunese. It is a mixture of corrupt Italian with the Sclavonic and southern French. The French admixture must have taken place in the fourteenth century, when Bertrand de Querci and Cardinal Philip went to that province with great numbers of Gascons and Provençals. The dialect is not uniform throughout the province of Friuli, as the following specimens will show. We take them from Adelung, who has drawn them from different sources. They are the Lord's Prayer.

Pari nestri ch' ees in Cijl,
See sanctificaat lu to nom ;
Vigna lu to ream ;
See fatta la too volontaat,
sich' in Cijl, ed in tiarra ;
Da nus hu' el nestri pan cotidian ;
E perdoni nus glu restris debiz,
sicu noo perdunin agl nestris
debetoors ;
E no nus menaa in tentation ;
Ma libora nus dal mal. Amen.

Nost pea, ch' a si in Cil,
Che si sanctificea e vost non ;
Ch' us vegna a vost regn ;
Ch' us fessa la vostra vuluntea,
hiose in Cil, che in terra ;
Dasis incù e nost pan d' igna dè ;
Armitis i nost debit, teal e queai
nun ai armetten ai nost de-
bitur ;
E fasi ch' an sema tintaë ;
Ma liberes da e meal. Amen.

Various authors have composed songs in this dialect, and among others *Statilio Paolini,* the friend of Tasso.

West of Friuli, in the southern portion of the Tyrolese, two dialects of German origin are spoken. They are, the dialect of the *Sette Communi,* spoken in the country round Vicenza, and that of the *Tredici Communi* in the neighborhood of Verona. They are remnants of the Upper German, or *Ober-Deutsch.* As these are not dialects of the Italian language, though spoken within the territory of Italy, we shall not notice them more particularly, but refer the reader to Adelung's

Mithridates; Zweyter Theil. s. 215, for a more minute account of them.

10. The Paduan. The Paduan dialect, or *lengua rusteca Pavana*, is a stepping-stone from the Venetian to the Lombard. It is composed of an admixture of these two, and is one of the most unintelligible of the Italian dialects. We have no specimens of it. The following works may be enumerated as belonging to its literature.

Jac. Morello; Il ridiculoso dottoremento di M. Desconzo di Strusenazzi ed altre operette piacevoli.

Bertevello dalle Brentelle; Poesia in lingua rustica Padovana.

Rime di lingua rustica Padovana di Magagnò, Menon e Begotto.

Gaspero Patriarchi: Vocabolario Veneziano e Padovano.

11. The Lombard. This is the dialect spoken in that fertile country watered by the river Po, and stretching westward from the Adige to the Bergamasco and the Milanese, and southward till it includes the Dutchies of Parma and Modena. The wide territory, over which this dialect may be said to sway the sceptre of the tongue, includes the cities of Mantua, Cremona, and Brescia on the northern side of the Po, and Ferrara, Modena, Piacenza, and Parma on the southern. Of course, no great uniformity of language prevails, inasmuch as each of these cities has its peculiarities and modifications of the general dialect. Besides, the line of demarcation, which separates one dialect from another, can never be perfectly distinct and well defined. On the borders of each province, the various and fluctuating tides of language must meet and mingle. Thus, in its northern districts, the Lombard has much in common with the Bergamask and the Milanese, the Paduan connects it with the Venetian, and in Modena and Ferrara it is so closely connected with the Bolognese, as to be almost the same language.

The leading peculiarities of this dialect are the following:

1. The frequent suppression of the vowels in the middle and at the end of words: as *nssun* for *nessuno; fnil* for *fenil; lett* for *letto;* etc.

2. The use of the particle *a* as an expletive; as *ch' a l' ha* for *che l' ha,* etc.

3. Very numerous changes and interchanges of vowels and consonants, which it is unnecessary to particularize.

The following specimen of the Lombard is in the *Mantovano di contado*, the dialect of the Mantuan peasantry. It is quoted by *Cherubini* in the preface to his *Vocabolario Mantovano-Italiano ;* and is extracted from the '*Composizioni Berneschi in dialetto Mantovano di contado, scritte da Gio: Maria Galeotti, per varie feste di Carnovale.*' Specimens of this dialect are rare, and in citing this, Cherubini observes, 'No work having ever been printed in the Mantuan dialect, and these being perhaps the only poetical compositions in MS. which are known to exist in that dialect, I may be permitted to introduce here a portion of one of them, that the amateurs of the literature of the Italian dialects may form therefrom some practical idea of the Mantuan.'

Al vilan l'è ben povrèt
E n' al magna che polenta,
Al va a fnil, ch' a n' al gh' ha lett,
Al fadiga, al suda, al stenta ;
Ma quand l' è rivà in cò d' l' án,
I sò cont va pèr a pèr,
E nssun al tira pr' al gabán,
Ch' a l' ha fatt con i sò fèr.
L' é in città dov dir a s' pòl
Ch' a n' l' è òr tutt cal ch' a lus,
Parchè tanti e tanti vòl
Far al pèt più gross dal bus.
Sia al vassèl o pien o vòd
Sempr' alegra è la campagna ;
E al bon temp a nostar mod
S' al msurôm con la cavagna.

. . . . .

Al carnaval l' è dova pò
Tutti andôm fòra d' carera,
Chi va in su, e chi va in zò,
E i filozz i par na fera. etc.

Poor indeed is the peasant's lot,
On hastypudding alone he feeds,
He sleeps in the hay-mow, for bed he has not,
And a life of toil is the life he leads.
But when he reaches the close of the year,
His *Dr.* with *Cr.* well balanced stands,

Nor creditor seizes him by the cloak
Which he has made by the toil of his hands.
In the city's walls, we may truly say,
All is not gold, that dazzles the eyes,
For thousands there mimic, in vain display,
The frog, that would rival the ox in size.*
Be our trenchers full or empty,
Always merry is the greenwood tree,
For we measure out mirth by the basket-full,
And our life of toil is a life of glee.

. . . . . .

When the days of Carnival come round,
All are abroad, and far away;
Laughing groups roam up and down,
And at every hearth is a holiday, etc.

12. The Milanese. Like all the rest of the Lombard dialects, the *dialetto Milanese* exhibits in its mutilated syllables and harsh consonant terminations, strong marks of the march and empire of northern invaders. Upon this point, it will, of course, be impossible to go into any detail. As leading peculiarities, then, of the *Milanese*, we give the following:

1. The elision of the final syllable; as *tutt* for *tutto; piangend* for *piangendo; faa* for *fatto; cà* for *casa*, etc.

2. The suppression of syllables and parts of syllables in the middle of words; as *coo* for *capo; voo* for *vado*, etc.

3. In common with the *Piedmontese* and *Genoese* dialects, the use of the French *u*, *œu*, *j*, and nasal *n*.

The Milanese is divided into a city and a country dialect. As an example of the difference, may be cited the termination of the infinitive. In the city dialect the *re* would be dropped; in the country dialect, this termination would be changed to *ae*, or, what is the same thing, the *r* only would be dropped. Thus, in the city, *fà* would be used for *fare;* in the country they would say *fae*. Near the Lago di Lugano and the Lago di Como this dialect is more unintelligible than elsewhere, on account of the intercourse of the people with their German neighbors, and the necessary admixture of their language; and westward, upon the shores of the Lago Maggiore, the Milanese passes gradually into the Piedmontese.

* This stanza is rather paraphrased than translated.

The following specimen of the dialect now under consideration is extracted from a poetic tale, entitled '*La Fuggitiva: Novella in dialetto Milanese, dell' Avvo. Tomasso Grossi*:—a pathetic story of an Italian girl, who followed her lover in disguise to Moscow, in the great Russian campaign of Napoleon. In the stanzas given below, she describes the discovery of her lover and her brother on the field of battle, which is lighted by the flames of Moscow.

Taseva tutt, ma in fin de la campagna
Sentiva on vers ch' el me passava el cœur.
Piangend, tremand voo inanz; vedi ona cagna
Che la lecca sù el sangu de vun che mœur;
Quest l' è sott a on cadaver, ch' el ghe bagna
Tutta la faccia de sanguusc; e el vœur
Storgendes, strepitand de scià e de là,
Come trassel de doss per refiadà.

El cadaver ch' el gh' ha dessoravìa
L' è tutt insanguanent e senza coo:
Guardi quell sott: stravedi? esusmarìa!
Quell color! quell vestii....voo imanz on poo
Ah! che l' è el mè Luis! me se rescìa
I cavij su la front, troo on sgarr e voo
Come on sass giò per terra adoss a lu,
Strengendel in di brasc, basandel su.

Ghe senti a batt el cœur; sbalzi in genœucc,
Me strasci giò tutt i vestii de doss
Per fassagh chi in sul stomegh un gran bœucc
Ch' el perd el sangu, e el lassa vedè i oss.
Lu allora sospirand el derva i œucc,
El me ved, et me fissa, el me cognoss;
E inserenandes in faccia, el se tira
Ona mia man sul cœur, e pœù el me spira.

El cœur el ghe batt pu, l' ha pers el fiaa;
Mi foo per saltà in pee, ma borli giò
A toppiccon adoss a on coo tajaa;
Col pocch sentor che me restava anmò
Fissi quell coo....l' è tutt insanguanaa,
Tutt sporscellent; ma se distingu però
La faccia. Eel forse el coo de mè fradell!
Esuss maria signor! l' è propi quell!—

'Twas silence all, when on the distant plain
Heart-rending groans were heard; in tears I ran
And found a hungry dog among the slain,
Lapping the life-blood of a dying man.
Upon the groaning victim, who in vain
Struggled to throw the burden off, a wan
And ghastly corpse was lying, and its blood
Over the face of the expiring flowed.

The corpse, that on the dying soldier lay,
Was smeared with blood, and headless; and beneath,—
Jesu Maria!—does my reason stray!—
That dress!—that color!—in the grasp of death
Lay my true love!—I wildly pushed away
The hair from his pale forehead,—gasped for breath,
And like a stone fell prostrate on his breast,
Kissed his cold form, and to my bosom pressed.

His heart still beat; and kneeling by his side,
I tore away the garment that he wore;
Upon his breast a ghastly wound and wide,
Cut to the bone, streamed with his clotted gore.
Then slowly he unclosed his eyes, and sighed,—
Gazed steadily, and knew my face once more,
And, with a smile upon his pale lips, tried
To press my hand against his heart,—and died.

His heart no longer beat,—his breath had fled.
I strove to rise,—but, reeling, fell again,
And rolled upon a grim dissevered head;
With feeble strength I sought, nor sought in vain,
To gaze upon the features of the dead;
Though foul with dust, and many a crimson stain,
I recognized the face.—It was my brother!—
Jesu Maria, help!—help, Virgin Mother!—

As specimens of the literature of the Milanese dialect, the following works may be cited: *La Gerusalemme Liberata travestita in Lingua Milanese da Dom. Balestrieri;* the little poetic *Novella* of Grossi, from which we have given an extract; and a short poem entitled '*Sestinn per el matrimoni del Sur Cont Don Gabriell Verr con la Sura Contessina Donna Giustina Borromea.*'

13. The Bergamask. This is the dialect of the province Bergamasco, lying north-east of the Milanese, among the lakes and mountains, which mark the northern boundary of Italy. It is the harshest of all the Italian dialects, and the most remarkable for its contractions and mutilations. Its principal characteristics are;

1. The harsh contractions just mentioned; as *tat* for *tanto; quac* for *qualche; aidem* for *ajutatemi*, etc.

2. The following interchange of letters; *z* for *g;* as *za* for *già; zet* for *gente: s* for *c;* as *pas* for *pace; vus* for *voce: g* for *t;* as *legg* for *letto; quang* for *quanto: gl* for *j;* as *travajo* for *travaglio*, etc.: *ou* for *o;* as *nou* for *noi; amour* for *amore.*

In addition to which, the diphthong *œu* belongs to this dialect, and *ol* and *dol* are used for the articles *il* and *del.*

We have no specimen to offer. Tasso's Jerusalem has been translated into this dialect by *Carlo Assonica*, under the title of '*Il Goffredo del Signor Torquato Tasso travestito alla Rustica Bergamasca.*'

14. The Piedmontese. This dialect very clearly declares the neighborhood of the French frontier. In the province of Piedmont, two great branches of the old *Romance*, the French and Italian, may be said to meet and mingle; or rather amid its snowy hills to have had a common fountain, the one flowing westward to the plains of France, and the other pouring its tributary stream down the southern declivity of the Alps.*

Among the peculiarities of the *Piedmontese* dialect, we mark the following:

1. In common with the French, the use of the nasal *n*, the diphthong *eu*, and the vowel *u*. These have the same sound as in French.

2. The use of *eu* for *o*, as *peui* for *poi; veuja* for *voglia*, etc.; and of *ei* for *e*, as *seira* for *sera; voleisse* for *volesse*, etc.

3. The curtailment of words by the omission of vowels; as

* In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the *Provençal* was the language of Piedmont. For specimens of that dialect, as there spoken, we refer our readers to the sketch of the origin of the French Language in a former No. of this Review; (Vol. XXXII. p. 285 *et seq.*) or to '*The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont. By Samuel Morland, Esq.*,' Book I. chap. V. p. 88; and to the '*Histoire Générale des Eglises Evangéliques des Vallées de Piémont: Par Jean Leger*,' Chap. XI. p. 58. from which works the specimens in our former No. were extracted.

pr for *per*; *prchè* for *perchè*; *bsogn* for *bisogno*, etc.; and the termination of the infinitive in *è* instead of *are*; as *mangè* for *mangiare*; *fè* for *fare*; *andè* for *andare*, etc.

4. The use of *s* for *z*, as *sensa* for *senza*; *astussia* for *astuzzia*; *conversasion* for *conversazione*, etc.

The following description of the 'Land of Cockayne' or Lubberland, will serve as a specimen of the Piedmontese. It is extracted from the *Poesie Piemontesi di P. Ignazio Isler.*

Col famos pajis d' cocagna
A l' è peui un gran pajis,
Gnun lavora la campagna
Pur a smía un paradis;
Lì chi veul fè 'l gargh lo fassa,
I' è pa gnun ch' a l' ambarassa,
Fa nèn bsògn d' travajè,
Pr vagnèsse da mangè . . . .
An fiócand aj vèn d' lasagne
Larghe tre travers d' dì,
E d' michete a gran cavagne
Con dij bon maron candì;
Quand aj vèn peui la tempèsta
Tutti anlora fan gran fèsta,
Ch' a l' è tuta mach d' bonbon,
D' ale, e d' cheusse de capon.
Dla polènta bèla, e consa
I fossai son pièn, e ras,
Basta andè con una bronsa
I na pie fin ch' av pias,
J' è squasi gnun ch' a na toca,
Bin ch' a fonda tuta an boca,
Fòra cousti sènsa dènt,
Ch' a na mangio alègramènt . . . .
D' vòte mai pr gargaría
I volèisse stè a durmì,
Stè sigur, gnun av desvía
Fuslo pure gròs mèsdì,
Acogià ch' j sie ant la stansa
Ronfè pur a crepapansa,
L' è la mòda del pajis
Ognun fè com a j' è vis.
S' quaichadun ai veul andèje,
Vènna sì amparè la strà, etc.

Lubberland!—renowned Cockayne!
Far the famous country lies;

There no laborer tills the plain,
Yet it seems a paradise.
There may each one chase his bubble,—
There is none to give him trouble;
All in that fair land of plenty
Love the *dolce far niente* . . . .
Lozenges it snoweth there
Large as thrice the finger through;
Sugar-mites do fill the air,
Mixed with candied chestnuts too.
There, when it sets in to rain,
'T is a holiday again,
With sugar-plums the tempest thickens,
And wings and legs of roasted chickens.
Hastypudding * bubbling hot
Flows in every ditch and dike;
Lounging thither with your pot,
You may take whate'er you like;
Hardly one th' ambrosia sips,
Though it flow between his lips,
Saving those sans teeth, who still
Eat right merrily their fill. . . .
An' you are of drowsy mood
And would doze the time away,
Sleep secure,—none will intrude,
Though it be the noon of day,
No one there your chamber seeks,
Snore until you crack your cheeks;
'Tis the fashion with the rest,
Each one does what suits him best.
If any one would thither go,
Let him come and learn the way, etc.

This is enough of Lubberland, that Eldorado of a plebeian imagination, where

Ogni smanna a pieuv na vòta
Dij fidèj, e d' macaron,—

where 'once a week it rains vermicelli and maccheroni.' The following song in the dialect of Savoy will show how the Piedmontese passes into the French. It is a Savoyard *Ranz-*

* The *Gran Turco* (not the Grand Turk, but Indian corn) holds as wide a dominion and as despotic a sway in Savoy and the north of Italy, as in New England. See also p. 329.

des-vaches, and the language in which it is written is rather French than Italian.

Les armaillis dei colombettes
Dé bon matin se son levà ;
A—a, à—a, à—a,
Lioba, lioba por aria.
Venidé todé,
Petit et grossé,
Bliantz' et naïré
Dzouven' et autre ;
Dezo stou tzano
Io ie vos ario,
Dezo stou trimblio,—
Io ie trinzo ;
Lioba, lioba por aria.
Les sonnaillairé
Van les primairé,
Les todo naïré
Van les derrairé ;
Venidé todé.

The herdsmen of the dove-cots
At early dawn have risen ;
Co—co, co—co, co—co,
Cows, cows, to the milking.
Come all,
Small and great,
White and black,
Young and old,
Beneath this oak
I will milk you,
Beneath this tremulous [oak]
I will drain you ;
Cows, cows, to the milking.
Those that bear the bell
Come the first,
Those wholly black
Come the last ;
Come all.

The literature of the Piedmontese dialect does not appear to be very extensive. The following works may be named : *Poesie Piemontesi del P. Ignazio Isler*, from which we have given an extract ; and the Comedies of *Giangiorgio Arioni*.

15. The Genoese. The dialect of Genoa is called the *dialetto Zeneize*, from *Zena*, the name of the city in the popular tongue. Like the Piedmontese, this dialect possesses much in common with the French. It has the triphthong *œu*, the vowel *u*, and the consonant *ç*, which are all pronounced as in French. The letter *x* has the sound of the French *j*, and the *n* is nasal. The double *nn* or *ñ*, forms a very obvious link between the French and Italian languages ; for the first *n* has the nasal sound of the French, and the second the sound of the Tuscan *n*.

Other distinguishing peculiarities of this dialect are ;

1. The use of *æ* for *a ;* as *pietæ* for *pietà ; fæto* for *fatto*, etc. : and of *œu* for *o ;* as *nœutte* for *notte*, etc.

2. The use of *r* for *l*, particularly in the articles, which are *ro*, *ra*, *ri*, *re*, for *lo*, *la*, *li*, *le ;* and *dro*, *dra*, *dri*, *dre*, for *dello*, *della*, *delli*, *delle*.

3. The use of *ç* for *z ;* as *paçiença* for *pazienza ; allegreççа* for *allegrezza*, etc. ; and of *gg* for *gl* and for *ch ;* as *vœuggio* for *voglio ; œuggio* for *occhio ;* etc.

4. The frequent and harsh curtailing of words; as *amô* for *amore*; *çê* for *cielo*; *fâ* for *fare*, etc.

This dialect has several subdivisions, both within the city of Genoa and in the surrounding country. Westward, towards the French frontier, it assimilates itself more and more to the French; and towards the south and east becomes more nearly allied to the Italian.

The following specimen of the *dialetto Zeneize* is from a little song, entitled '*Partença per Mariña*,' the Departure for Sea, in the *Cittara Zeneize di Gian Giacomo Cavalli*.

Partî da ra sò vitta,
Cara Bella, oh che morte!
A Carta ò Calamitta
Confiâ ra sò sorte,
Oh che affanno! oh che vive,
Duro da immaginâ, no che
da scrive!

To part from one's own life,
Cara Bella, oh what a death!
To chart or compass
To confide one's fate,
Oh, what anguish! what a life!
Hard to imagine, harder to describe.

Parto, ve lascio, oh Dio!
In quenti squarçi e parte
L' añima in dîve addio
Se me straçça e se parte!
Uña stricça d' inciostro
Comm' è bastante a dî
quanto son vostro?

I go, I leave you, oh heavens,
In how many fragments and parts
My soul, in bidding you adieu,
Is torn and divided!
A single line of ink
How can it suffice to say how
much I am yours?

Ma zà sento ro tiro.
Cangio ro canto in centi;
Mando questo sospiro:
Vaggo pe ri mœ venti.
Amô, che bella festa?
Comme posso partî, se ro
cœu resta?

But already I hear the parting gun.
I change my song to complaints
I send forth this sigh;
I fly before the winds.
Love, what a festal day!
How can I then depart, if here
my heart remain?

We subjoin one more extract of an anterior date. It is the commencement of an ode from the pen of *Barnaba Cicala Casero*, and is extracted from the '*Scelta di alcune Rime de' più antichi Rimatori Genovesi*,' which forms a part of the *Cittara Zeneize*.

Quando un fresco, suave, doçe vento
A ra saxon ciù bella, a ra megiô,
Treppâ intre fœugge sento,
E pâ ch' o spire amô;
Me ven in mente quella
No donna zà ma stella,
Quando ro ventixœu ghe stà a treppâ
Dent' ri cavelli, e ghe ri fa mesciâ.

Quarche votta che sento ri oxelletti,
Comme sareiva a dî ri rossignœu,
Cantâ sciù ri ærboretti
Ri vaghi versi sœu ;
L' accorto raxonâ,
E ro gentî parlâ
Me ven de quella ingrata dent' ro cœu,
Ch' è atro che sentî ro rossignœu.

Whenever a fresh, mild and pleasant breeze,
In spring, the loveliest season of the year,
Soft-moving through the green and leafy trees,
And filling the whole heart with love, I hear,
To her my thoughts are given,
Who less of earth than heaven
Possesses, when the soft wind dallying plays
Amid her flowing hair, in many a tangled maze.

And sometimes, when I hear the wild-birds sing,—
The nightingale slow warbling in the grove,
Till far around the shadowy woodlands ring
All vocal with the melody of love,
Then the soft, winning tone
Of that ungrateful one
Resounds within my heart,—each gentle word
More sad than the complaint of the forsaken bird.

The ode proceeds in the same spirit ; and were it not for the language in which it is written, we should have thought its author one of the Troubadours of the twelfth or thirteenth century, so completely has he caught their tone.*

This dialect cannot boast a very extensive literature ; but in addition to the poems of Cavalli, from which the foregoing extracts have been made, may be mentioned the *Rime diverse in lingua Genovese raccolte da Cristof. Zabata.* A small collection of fables in verse, and in the Genoese dialect, may be found in the *Lunario Genovese per l' anno bisestile* 1820 *compilato dal Sig. Regina e Socj.*

* During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Genoese dialect, if a single poem may be cited in evidence, bore a much stronger resemblance to the Provençal than to the Genoese of the present day. One of the *Tensons of Rambaud de Vaqueiras*, a Troubadour of the XIIth century, is in the form of a dialogue between himself and a Genoese woman, who replies to the poet in her native tongue. The following is one stanza with a literal translation.

Westward, along the sea-board in Mentone and Monaco, a kind of frontier dialect is spoken. It is a mixture of Genoese, Piedmontese and Provençal, the first two predominating. Many Spanish words are also intermingled, Monaco having formerly been under the government of Spain. Though Monaco and Mentone are but a few miles distant from each other, some marked peculiarities of dialect may be observed in the two places. At Nice the Provençal is spoken, though mixed with many Italian words.

16. The Corsican. The dialect of the island of Corsica seems never to have attracted very strongly the attention of the Italian literati. Travellers have seldom penetrated beyond the cities of the sea-shore, so that no accounts are given of the dialect of the interior; and as literary curiosity has never been excited upon the subject, no work, we believe, has been published in the dialect, or dialects, of the island. *Denina* says, in his *Clef des Langues*, that the language of the higher classes bears a stronger resemblance to the Tuscan, than do the dialects of the other islands of the gulf of Genoa, as formerly a very lively commerce opened a constant intercourse between Leghorn and the Corsican sea-board. Some remarks upon this dialect may be found in the *Voyage de Lycomède en Corse*. We have never seen any specimens of it; and even for the barren notice we here give our readers, we are indebted to Adelung.

17. The Sardinian. The island of Sardinia has been inhabited and governed by a various succession of colonists. Huns,

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Juiar, voi no se corteso,	Troubadour, you are not courteous,
Que me chardeiai de chò	You have besought me to do that
Que niente non farò.	Which I will never do.
Ance fosse vos à peso	Though it may displease you,
Vostr' amia non serò.	Your lady-love I will not be.
Certa ja v' escarnirò,	Surely I will make you my laughing-stock,
Provensal mal agurado;	Ill-starred Provençal;
Tal enoio vos dirò,	Such insults will I utter,
Sozo, mozo, escalvado,	Ugly, bald-headed wretch:
Ni ja voi non amarò,	Nor will I ever love you;
Qu' ech un bello mariò	For I have a beautiful husband,
Que voi no se ben lo sò.	And you are not fair, full well I know.
Andai via, frar', en tempo Meillorado.	Begone, and better fortune Attend you elsewhere.

For the remainder, see *Bibliothèque Choisie des Poètes François.* T. 1. pp. 89, 90.

Greeks, Carthagenians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantians, Ostrogoths, Lombards, Franks, Arabians, Pisans, and Aragonese,—all these have at various epochs dwelt within its territory. Hence the variety of the dialects, which chequer the language of the island, or rather the variety of languages there spoken. The first and principal division of these is into the *Lingua Sarda*, the vernacular Sardinian, and the *Lingue Forestiere*, or the foreign dialects spoken in some parts of the island. Each of these has its subdivisions.

I. The *Lingua Sarda* is divided into the *dialetto Campidanese* and the *dialetto Logodoro*, and contains a great number of Greek, French, German, and Spanish words.

The *dialetto Campidanese* is the language spoken in the southern part of the island. On the eastern shore it has much in common with the Sicilian, and on the western with the Catalonian dialect of Spain. Its leading peculiarities are the following:

1. It retains a great number of Latin words unchanged; as *amas*, *amat*, *tempus*, *tres*, *nos*, *sunt*, etc.

2. The formation of the plural in *s;* as *nos* for *noi; deppitos* for *debiti;* etc.

3. The use of

u for *o;* as *regnu* for *regno*, etc.
dd for *ll;* as *cabaddu* for *caballo*, etc.
gh for *gu;* as *gherra* for *guerra*, etc.

The *dialetto Logodoro* is the language of the north of Sardinia, though it does not universally prevail there. It partakes of the various peculiarities which we have mentioned as belonging to the *Campidanese*, and the main distinction between these two dialects seems to be, that the *Logodoro* is not so uniform in the use of these peculiarities as the *Campidanese*. This, without doubt, must be attributed to the influence of the *Tuscan*, which is spoken in many of the principal cities and villages of the north. Indeed the *dialetto Logodoro* seems to be a mixture of the *Tuscan* and *Campidanese*.

II. *Lingue Forestiere* of Sardinia. The *Catalonian* and the *Tuscan* are the two principal foreign dialects spoken in the island. As dialects, these are confined to the north, though their influence seems to extend through the whole country. The *Catalonian* is spoken in the city of Alghieri, which is a Spanish colony on the western coast. The *Tuscan* has a more extended sway, and is the language

of Sassari, Castel-Sardo, Tempio, and the surrounding country; though of course with many local modifications.

The following is the Lord's Prayer in one of the city and one of the country dialects of Sardinia. Adelung, from whose work we take them, does not mark the sections of country, to which they severally belong, and from the specimens themselves it would be difficult to decide this point in a satisfactory manner.

City Dialect.

Pare nostru, qui istas in sos Quelos,
Siat sanctificadu su nomen teu;
Vengat a nois su regnu teu;
Fasase sa voluntat tua axi comen su Quelu gasi in terra;
Lo pa nostru de dognia die da nos hoe;
I dexia a nosaltres sos deppitos nostros, comente nosateros dexiam als deppitores nostros;
I no nos induescas in sa tentatio;
Ma livra nos de male. Amen.

Country Dialect.

Babbu nostru, qui ses in sos Quelos,
Santifficadu siat su nomine tuo;
Advengiat su renno tuo;
Siat fatta sa voluntade tua, comente in su Quelu gasi in sa terra;
Su pane nostrudeo gni die da nos lu hoe;
Et perdona nos sos deppidos nostros, gasi comente noij perdonamus sus deppidores nostros;
Et non nos lasses ruer in sa tentassione;
Mas libera nos de male. Gasi siat.

Specimens of the *Lingua Sarda* may be found in the following works.

Le Armonie de' Sardi; opera dell' Abate Matteo Madao.

Saggio d' un' opera intitolata, il Ripulimento della lingua Sarda; by the same.

We have but few words to say in conclusion. In speaking of the distinguishing peculiarities of the various Italian dialects, we have necessarily confined our remarks to those changes in orthography and pronunciation, which characterize them severally. There are however other distinguishing marks, which

perhaps may be regarded as less equivocal, than those which we have enumerated. We refer to the idioms and vocabulary of words, which are peculiar to each of these dialects. For very obvious reasons, we could enter into no discussion of these: the curious reader of this article, who may wish for information upon such points, is referred to the various dictionaries which have been published of the Italian dialects, and some of which we have had occasion to mention in the progress of this article.

ART. III.—*Wheaton's History of the Northmen.*
History of the Northmen, or Danes and Normans. London. 8vo. 1831.

We are misers in knowledge as in wealth. Open inexhaustible mines to us on every hand, yet we return to grope in the exhausted stream of past opulence, and sift its sands for ore; place us in an age when history pours in upon us like an inundation, and the events of a century are crowded into a lustre; yet we tenaciously hold on to the scanty records of foregone times, and often neglect the all-important present to discuss the possibility of the almost forgotten past.

It is worthy of remark, that this passion for the antiquated and the obsolete appears to be felt with increasing force in this country. It may be asked, what sympathies can the native of a land, where every thing is in its youth and freshness, have with the antiquities of the ancient hemisphere? What inducement can he have to turn from the animated scene around him, and the brilliant perspective that breaks upon his imagination, to wander among the mouldering monuments of the olden world, and to call up its shadowy lines of kings and warriors from the dim twilight of tradition?—

> 'Why seeks he, with unwearied toil,
> Through death's dark walls to urge his way,
> Reclaim his long asserted spoil,
> And lead oblivion into day?'

We answer, that he is captivated by the powerful charm of contrast. Accustomed to a land where every thing is bursting into life, and history itself but in its dawning, antiquity has, in fact, for him the effect of novelty; and the fading, but mellow, glories of the past, which linger in the horizon of the Old

World, relieve the eye, after being dazzled with the rising rays which sparkle up the firmament of the New.

It is a mistake, too, that the political faith of a republican requires him, on all occasions, to declaim with bigot heat against the stately and traditional ceremonials; the storied pomps and pageants of other forms of government; or even prevents him from, at times, viewing them with interest, as matters worthy of curious investigation. Independently of the themes they present for historical and philosophical inquiry, he may regard them with a picturesque and poetical eye, as he regards the Gothic edifices rich with the elaborate ornaments of a gorgeous and intricate style of architecture, without wishing to exchange therefor the stern but proud simplicity of his own habitation; or, as he admires the romantic keeps and castles of chivalrous and feudal times, without desiring to revive the dangerous customs and warlike days in which they originated. To him the whole pageantry of emperors and kings, and nobles, and titled knights, is, as it were, a species of poetical machinery, addressing itself to his imagination, but no more affecting his faith than does the machinery of the heathen mythology affect the orthodoxy of the scholar, who delights in the strains of Homer and Virgil, and wanders with enthusiasm among the crumbling temples and sculptured deities of Greece and Rome; or do the fairy mythology of the East, and the demonology of the North, impair the Christian faith of the poet or the novelist who interweaves them in his fictions.

We have been betrayed into these remarks, in considering the work before us, where we find one of our countrymen, and a thorough republican, investigating with minute attention some of the most antiquated and dubious tracts of European history, and treating of some of its exhausted and almost forgotten dynasties; yet evincing throughout the enthusiasm of an antiquarian, the liberality of a scholar, and the enlightened toleration of a citizen of the world.

The author of the work before us, Mr. Henry Wheaton, has for some years filled the situation of Chargé d'Affaires at the court of Denmark. Since he has resided at Copenhagen, he has been led into a course of literary and historic research, which has ended in the production of the present history of those Gothic and Teutonic people, who, inhabiting the northern regions of Europe, have so often and so successfully made inroads into other countries, more genial

in climate and abundant in wealth. A considerable part of his book consists of what may be called conjectural or critical history, relating to remote and obscure periods of time, previous to the introduction of Christianity, historiography, and the use of Roman letters among those northern nations. At the outset, therefore, it assumes something of an austere and antiquarian air, which may daunt and discourage that class of readers who are accustomed to find history carefully laid out in easy rambling walks through agreeable landscapes, where just enough of the original roughness is left to produce the picturesque and romantic. Those, however, who have the courage to penetrate the dark and shadowy boundary of our author's work, grimly beset with hyperborean horrors, will find it resembling one of those enchanted forests described in northern poetry,—embosoming regions of wonder and delight, for such as have the hardihood to achieve the adventure. For our own part, we have been struck with the variety of adventurous incidents crowded into these pages, and with the abundance of that poetical material which is chiefly found in early history; while many of the rude traditions of the Normans, the Saxons, and the Danes have come to us with the captivating charms of early association, recalling the marvellous tales and legends that have delighted us in childhood.

The first seven chapters may be regarded as preliminary to the narrative, or, more strictly, historical part of the book. They trace the scanty knowledge possessed by Greek and Roman antiquity of the Scandinavian north; the earliest migrations from that quarter to the west, and south, and east of Europe; the discovery of Iceland by the Norwegians; with the singular circumstances which rendered that barren and volcanic isle, where ice and fire contend for mastery, the last asylum of Pagan faith and Scandinavian literature. In this wild region they lingered until the Latin alphabet superseded the Runic character, when the traditionary poetry and oral history of the north were consigned to written records, and rescued from that indiscriminate destruction which overwhelmed them on the Scandinavian continent.

The government of Iceland is described by our author as being more properly a patriarchal aristocracy than a republic; and he observes that the Icelanders, in consequence of their adherence to their ancient religion, cherished and cultivated the language and literature of their ancestors, and brought

them to a degree of beauty and perfection which they never reached in the christianized countries of the north, where the introduction of the learned languages produced feeble and awkward, though classical imitation, instead of graceful and national originality.

When, at the end of the tenth century, Christianity was at length introduced into the island, the national literature, though existing only in oral tradition, was full blown, and had attained too strong and deep a root in the affections of the people to be eradicated, and had given a charm and value to the language with which it was identified. The Latin letters, therefore, which accompanied the introduction of the Romish religion, were merely adapted to designate the sounds heretofore expressed by Runic characters, and thus contributed to preserve in Iceland the ancient language of the north, when exiled from its parent countries of Scandinavia. To this fidelity to its ancient tongue, the rude and inhospitable shores of Iceland owe that charm which gives them an inexhaustible interest in the eyes of the antiquary, and endears them to the imagination of the poet. 'The popular superstitions,' observes our author, 'with which the mythology and poetry of the north are interwoven, continued still to linger in the sequestered glens of this remote island.'

The language in itself appears to have been worthy of this preservation, since we are told that 'it bears in its internal structure a strong resemblance to the Latin and Greek, and even to the ancient Persian and Sanscrit, and rivals in copiousness, flexibility and energy, every modern tongue.'

Before the introduction of letters, all Scandinavian knowledge was perpetuated in oral tradition by their Skalds, who, like the rhapsodists of ancient Greece, and the bards of the Celtic tribes, were at once poets and historians. We boast of the encouragement of letters and literary men in these days of refinement; but where are they more honored and rewarded than they were among these barbarians of the north? The Skalds, we are told, were the companions and chroniclers of kings, who entertained them in their trains, enriched them with rewards, and sometimes entered the lists with them in trials of skill in their art. They in a manner bound country to country, and people to people, by a delightful link of union, travelling about as wandering minstrels, from land to land, and often performing the office of ambassadors between hostile

tribes. While thus applying the gifts of genius to their divine and legitimate ends, by calming the passions of men, and harmonizing their feelings into kindly sympathy, they were looked up to with mingled reverence and affection, and a sacred character was attached to their calling. Nay, in such estimation were they held, that they occasionally married the daughters of princes, and one of them was actually raised to a throne in the fourth century of the Christian era.

It is true the Skalds were not always treated with equal deference, but were sometimes doomed to experience the usual caprice that attends upon royal patronage. We are told that Canute the Great retained several at his court, who were munificently rewarded for their encomiastic lays. One of them having composed a short poem in praise of his sovereign, hastened to recite it to him, but found him just rising from table, and surrounded by suitors.

'The impatient poet craved an audience of the king for his lay, assuring him it was "very short." The wrath of Canute was kindled, and he answered the Skald with a stern look,—"Are you not ashamed to do what none but yourself has dared,—to write a short poem upon me?—unless by the hour of dinner tomorrow you produce a *drapa* above thirty strophes long on the same subject, your life shall pay the penalty." The inventive genius of the poet did not desert him: he produced the required poem, which was of the kind called *Tog-drapa*, and the king liberally rewarded him with fifty marks of silver.

'Thus we perceive how the flowers of poetry sprung up and bloomed amidst eternal ice and snows. The arts of peace were successfully cultivated by the free and independent Icelanders. Their Arctic isle was not warmed by a Grecian sun, but their hearts glowed with the fire of freedom. The natural divisions of the country by icebergs and lava streams insulated the people from each other, and the inhabitants of each valley and each hamlet formed, as it were, an independent community. These were again reunited in the general national assembly of the Althing, which might not be unaptly likened to the Amphyctionic council or Olympic games, where all the tribes of the nation convened to offer the common rites of their religion, to decide their mutual differences, and to listen to the lays of the Skald, which commemorated the exploits of their ancestors. Their pastoral life was diversified by the occupation of fishing. Like the Greeks, too, the sea was their element, but even their shortest voyages bore them much farther from their native shores than

the boasted expedition of the Argonauts. Their familiarity with the perils of the ocean, and with the diversified manners and customs of foreign lands, stamped their national character with bold and original features, which distinguished them from every other people.

'The power of oral tradition, in thus transmitting, through a succession of ages, poetical or prose compositions of considerable length, may appear almost incredible to civilized nations accustomed to the art of writing. But it is well known, that even after the Homeric poems had been reduced to writing, the rhapsodists who had been accustomed to recite them could readily repeat any passage desired. And we have, in our own times, among the Servians, Calmucks, and other barbarous and semi-barbarous nations, examples of heroic and popular poems of great length thus preserved and handed down to posterity. This is more especially the case where there is a perpetual order of men, whose exclusive employment it is to learn and repeat, whose faculty of the memory is thus improved and carried to the highest pitch of perfection, and who are relied upon as historiographers to preserve the national annals. The interesting scene presented this day in every Icelandic family, in the long nights of winter, is a living proof of the existence of this ancient custom. No sooner does the day close, than the whole patriarchal family, domestics and all, are seated on their couches in the principal apartment, from the ceiling of which the reading and working lamp is suspended; and one of the family, selected for that purpose, takes his seat near the lamp, and begins to read some favorite Saga, or it may be the works of Klopstock and Milton (for these have been translated into Icelandic,) whilst all the rest attentively listen, and are at the same time engaged in their respective occupations. From the scarcity of printed books in this poor and sequestered country, in some families the Sagas are recited by those who have committed them to memory, and there are still instances of itinerant orators of this sort, who gain a livelihood during the winter by going about, from house to house, repeating the stories they have thus learnt by heart.'

The most prominent feature of Icelandic verse, according to our author, is its alliteration. In this respect it resembles the poetry of all rude periods of society. That of the eastern nations, the Hebrews and the Persians, is full of this ornament; and it is found even among the classic poets of Greece and Rome. These observations of Mr. Wheaton are supported by those of Dr. Henderson,* who states that the funda-

* Henderson's Iceland. Edinb. 1819. Appendix III.

mental rule in Icelandic poetry required that there should be three words in every couplet having the same initial letter, two of which should be in the former hemistich, and one in the latter. The following translation from Milton is furnished as a specimen.

*V*id that *V*illu diup
*V*ard annum slæga,
*B*öloerk *B*idleikat
*B*armi vitis â.

'Into this wild abyss the wary Fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell and looked;'—

As a specimen of the tales related by the Skalds, we may cite that of Sigurd and the beauteous Brynhilda, a royal virgin, who is described as living in a lonely castle, encircled by magic flames.

In the Teutonic lay, Brynhilda is a mere mortal virgin; but in the Icelandic poem she becomes a Valkyria, one of those demi-divinities, servants of Odin or Woden in the Gothic mythology, who were appointed to watch over the fate of battle, and were, as their name betokens, selectors of the slain. They were clothed in armor, and mounted on fleet horses, with drawn swords, and mingled in the shock of battle, choosing the warrior-victims, and conducting them to Valhalla, the hall of Odin, where they joined the banquet of departed heroes, in carousals of mead and beer.

The first interview of the hero and heroine is wildly romantic. Sigurd, journeying toward Franconia, sees a flaming light upon a lofty mountain: he approaches it, and beholds a warrior in full armor asleep upon the ground. On removing the helmet of the slumberer, he discovers the supposed knight to be an Amazon. Her armor clings to her body, so that he is obliged to separate it with his sword. She then arises from her death-like sleep, and apprises him that he has broken the spell by which she lay entranced. She had been thrown into this lethargic state by Odin, in punishment for having disobeyed his orders. In a combat between two knights, she had caused the death of him who should have had the victory.

This romantic tale has been agreeably versified by William Spencer, an elegant and accomplished genius, who has just furnished the world with sufficient proofs of his talents to cause regret that they did not fall to the lot of a more industrious

man. We subjoin the fragments of his poem cited by our author.

'O strange is the bower where Brynhilda reclines,
Around it the watch-fire high bickering shines!
Her couch is of iron, her pillow a shield,
And the maiden's chaste eyes are in deep slumber sealed;
Thy charm, dreadful Odin, around her is spread,
From thy wand the dread slumber was poured on her head.
O whilom in battle so bold and so free,
Like a *Vikingr* victorious she roved o'er the sea.
The love-lighting eyes, which are fettered by sleep,
Have seen the sea-fight raging fierce o'er the deep;
And mid the dread wounds of the dying and slain,
The tide of destruction poured wide o'er the plain.

'Who is it that spurs his dark steed at the fire?
Who is it, whose wishes thus boldly aspire
To the chamber of shields, where the beautiful maid
By the spell of the mighty All-Father is laid?
It is Sigurd the valiant, the slayer of kings,
With the spoils of the Dragon, his gold and his rings.'

BRYNHILDA.

* * * * * *

'Like a Virgin of the Shield I roved o'er the sea,
My arm was victorious, my valor was free.
By prowess, by Runic enchantment and song,
I raised up the weak, and I beat down the strong;
I held the young prince mid the hurly of war,
My arm waved around him the charmed scimitar;
I saved him in battle, I crowned him in hall,
Though Odin and Fate had foredoomed him to fall:
Hence Odin's dread curses were poured on my head;
He doomed the undaunted Brynhilda to wed.
But I vowed the high vow which gods dare not gainsay,
That the boldest in warfare should bear me away:
And full well I knew that thou, Sigurd, alone
Of mortals the boldest in battle hast shone;
I knew that none other the furnace could stem,
(So wrought was the spell, and so fierce was the flame,)
Save Sigurd the glorious, the slayer of kings,
With the spoils of the Dragon, his gold and his rings.'

The story in the original runs through several cantos, com-

prising varied specimens of those antique Gothic compositions, which, to use the words of our author,

'are not only full of singularly wild and beautiful poetry, and lively pictures of the manners and customs of the heroic age of the ancient north, its patriarchal simplicity, its deadly feuds, and its fanciful superstition, peopling the earth, air, and waters with deities, giants, genii, nymphs, and dwarfs; but there are many exquisite touches of the deepest pathos, to which the human heart beats in unison in every age and in every land.'

Many of these hyperborean poems, he remarks, have an oriental character and coloring in their subjects and imagery, their mythology and their style, bearing internal evidence of their having been composed in remote antiquity, and in regions less removed from the cradle of the human race than the Scandinavian north. 'The oldest of this fragmentary poetry,' as he finely observes, 'may be compared to the gigantic remains, the wrecks of a more ancient world, or to the ruins of Egypt and Hindostan, speaking a more perfect civilization, the glories of which have long since departed.'

Our author gives us many curious glances at the popular superstitions of the north, and those poetic and mythic fictions which pervaded the great Scandinavian family of nations. The charmed armor of the warrior; the dragon who keeps a sleepless watch over buried treasure; the spirits or genii that haunt the rocky tops of mountains, or the depths of quiet lakes; and the elves or vagrant demons which wander through forests, or by lonely hills; these are found in all the popular superstitions of the north. Ditmarus Blefkenius tells us that the Icelanders believed in domestic spirits, which woke them at night to go and fish; and that all expeditions to which they were thus summoned were eminently fortunate. The water-sprites, originating in Icelandic poetry, may be traced throughout the north of Europe. The Swedes delight to tell of the *Strömkerl*, or boy of the stream, who haunts the glassy brooks that steal gently through green meadows, and sits on the silver waves at moonlight, playing his harp to the elves who dance on the flowery margin. Scarcely a rivulet in Germany also but has its *Wasser-nixe*, or water-witches, all evidently members of the great northern family.

Before we leave this enchanted ground, we must make a few observations on the Runic characters, which were regard-

ed with so much awe in days of yore, as locking up darker mysteries and more potent spells than the once redoubtable hieroglyphics of the Egyptians. The Runic alphabet, according to our author, consists properly of sixteen letters. Northern tradition attributes them to Odin, who, perhaps, brought them into Scandinavia, but they have no resemblance to any of the alphabets of central Asia. Inscriptions in these characters are still to be seen on rocks and stone monuments in Sweden, and other countries of the north, containing Scandinavian verses in praise of their ancient heroes. They were also engraven on arms, trinkets, amulets, and utensils, and sometimes on the bark of trees, and on wooden tablets, for the purpose of memorials or of epistolary correspondence. In one of the Eddaic poems, Odin is represented as boasting the magic power of the Runic rhymes, to heal diseases and counteract poison; to spell-bind the arms of an enemy; to lull the tempest; to stop the career of witches through the air; to raise the dead, and extort from them the secrets of the world of spirits. The reader who may desire to see the letters of this all-potent alphabet, will find them in Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

In his sixth chapter, Mr. Wheaton gives an account of the religion of Odin, and his migration, with a colony of Scythian Goths, from the banks of the Tanais, in Asia, to the peninsula of Scandinavia, to escape the Roman legions. Without emulating his minute and interesting detail, we will merely and briefly state some of the leading particulars, and refer the curious reader to the pages of his book.

The expedition of this mythological hero is stated to have taken place about seventy years before the Christian era, when Pompey the Great, then consul of Rome, finished the war with Tigranes and Mithridates, and carried his victorious arms throughout the most important parts of Asia. We quote a description of the wonderful vessel Skidbladner, the ship of the gods, in which he made the voyage.

'Skidbladner,' said one of the genii, when interrogated by Gangler, 'is one of the best ships, and most curiously constructed. It was built by certain dwarfs, who made a present of it to Freyn. It is so vast that there is room to hold all the deities, with their armor. As soon as the sails are spread, it directs its course, with a favorable breeze, wherever they desire to navigate; and when they wish to land, such is its marvellous construction, that it can be taken to pieces, rolled up, and put in the pocket.'

'That is an excellent ship, indeed,' replied Gangler, 'and must have required much science and magic art to construct.'—p. 118.

With this very convenient, portable, and pocketable ship, and a crew of Goths of the race of Sviar, called by Tacitus Suiones, the intrepid Odin departed from Scythia, to escape the domination of the Romans, who were spreading themselves over the world. He took with him also his twelve pontiffs, who were at once priests of religion and judges of the law. Whenever sea or river intervened, he launched his good ship Skidbladner, embarked with his band, and sailed merrily over; then landing, and pocketing the transport, he again put himself at the head of his crew, and marched steadily forward. To add to the facilities of these primitive emigrants, Odin was himself a seer and a magician. He could look into futurity; could strike his enemies with deafness, blindness, and sudden panic; could blunt the edge of their weapons, and render his own warriors invisible. He could transform himself into bird, beast, fish, or serpent, and fly to the most distant regions, while his body remained in a trance. He could, with a single word, extinguish fire, control the winds, and bring the dead to life. He carried about with him an embalmed and charmed head, which would reply to his questions, and give him information of what was passing in the remotest lands. He had, moreover, two most gifted and confidential ravens, who had the gift of speech, and would fly, on his behests, to the uttermost parts of the earth. We have only to believe in the supernatural powers of such a leader, provided with such a ship, and such an oracular head, attended by two such marvellously-gifted birds, and backed by a throng of staunch and stalwart Gothic followers, and we shall not wonder that he found but little difficulty in making his way to the peninsula of Scandinavia, and in expelling the aboriginal inhabitants, who seem to have been but a diminutive and stunted race; although there are not wanting fabulous narrators, who would fain persuade us there were giants among them. They were gradually subdued and reduced to servitude, or driven to the mountains, and subsequently to the desert wilds and fastnesses of Norrland, Lapland, and Finland, where they continued to adhere to that form of polytheism called Fetishism, or the adoration of birds and beasts, stocks and stones, and all the animate and inanimate works of creation.

As to Odin, he introduced into his new dominions the religion he had brought with him from the banks of the Tanais; but, like the early heroes of most barbarous nations, he was destined to become himself an object of adoration; for though to all appearance he died, and was consumed on a funeral pile, it was said that he was translated to the blissful abode of Godheim, there to enjoy eternal life. In process of time it was declared, that, though a mere prophet on earth, he had been an incarnation of the Supreme Deity, and had returned to the sacred hall of Valhalla, the paradise of the brave, where, surrounded by his late companions in arms, he watched over the deeds and destinies of the children of men.

The primitive people who had been conquered by Odin and his followers, seem to have been as diminutive in spirit as in form, and withal a rancorous race of little vermin, whose expulsion from their native land awakens but faint sympathy; yet candor compels us to add, that their conquerors are not much more entitled to our esteem, although their hardy deeds command our admiration. The author gives a slight sketch of the personal peculiarities which discriminated both, extracted from an Eddaic poem, and which is worthy of notice, as accounting, as far as the authority is respected, for some of the diversities in feature and complexion of the Scandinavian races.

'The slave caste, descended from the Aboriginal Finns, were distinguished from their conquerors by black hair and complexion * * * * *.' The caste of freemen and freeholders, lords of the soil which they cultivated, and descended from the Gothic conquerors, had reddish hair, fair complexion, and all the traits which peculiarly mark that famous race * * *—while the caste of the illustrious Jarls and the Hersen, earls and barons, were distinguished by still fairer hair and skin, and by noble employments and manners: from these descended the kingly race, skilled in Runic science, in manly exercises, and the military art.'

The manners, customs, and superstitions of these northern people, which afterwards, with various modifications, pervaded and stamped an indelible character on so great a part of Europe, deserve to be more particularly mentioned; and we give a brief view of them, chiefly taken from the work of our author, and partly from other sources. The religion of the early Scan-

dinavians taught the existence of a Supreme Being, called Thor, who ruled over the elements, purified the air with refreshing showers, dispensed health and sickness, wielded the thunder and lightning, and with his celestial weapon, the rainbow, launched unerring arrows at the evil demons. He was worshipped in a primitive but striking manner, amidst the solemn majesty of nature, on the tops of mountains, in the depths of primeval forests, or in those groves which rose like natural temples on islands surrounded by the dark waters of lonely and silent lakes. They had, likewise, their minor deities, or genii, whom we have already mentioned, who were supposed to inhabit the sun, the moon, and stars,—the regions of the air, the trees, the rocks, the brooks and mountains of the earth, and to superintend the phenomena of their respective elements. They believed, also, in a future state of torment for the guilty, and of voluptuous and sensual enjoyment for the virtuous.

This primitive religion gave place to more complicated beliefs. Odin, elevated, as we have shown, into a divinity, was worshipped as the Supreme Deity, and with him was associated his wife Freya; from these are derived our Odensday, —Wodensday or Wednesday,—and our Freytag, or Friday. Thor, from whom comes Thursday, was now more limited in his sway, though he still bent the rainbow, launched the thunderbolt, and controlled the seasons. These three were the principal deities, and held assemblies of those of inferior rank and power. The mythology had also its devil, called Loke, a most potent and malignant spirit, and supposed to be the cause of all evil.

By degrees the religious rites of the northern people became more artificial and ostentatious; they were performed in temples, with something of Asiatic pomp. Festivals were introduced of symbolical and mystic import, at the summer and the winter solstice, and at various other periods; in which were typified, not merely the decline and renovation of nature and the changes of the seasons, but the epochs in the moral history of man. As the ceremonials of religion became more dark and mysterious, they assumed a cruel and sanguinary character; prisoners taken in battle were sacrificed by the victors, subjects by their kings, and sometimes even children by their parents. Superstition gradually spread its illusions over all the phenomena of nature, and gave each some occult meaning; oracles,

lots, auguries, and divination gained implicit faith; and soothsayers read the decrees of fate in the flight of birds, the sound of thunder, and the entrails of the victim. Every man was supposed to have his attendant spirit, his destiny, which it was out of his power to avert, and his appointed hour to die;—Odin, however, could control or alter the destiny of a mortal, and defer the fatal hour. It was believed, also, that a man's life might be prolonged if another would devote himself to death in his stead.

The belief in magic was the natural attendant upon these superstitions. Charms and spells were practised, and the Runic rhymes, known but to the gifted few, acquired their reputation among the ignorant multitude, for an all-potent and terrific influence over the secrets of nature and the actions and destinies of man.

As war was the principal and the only noble occupation of these people, their moral code was suitably brief and stern. After profound devotion to the gods, valor in war was inculcated as the supreme virtue, cowardice as the deadly sin. Those who fell gloriously in war were at once transported to Valhalla, the airy hall of Odin, there to partake of the eternal felicities of the brave. Fighting and feasting, which had constituted their fierce joys on earth, were lavished upon them in this supernal abode. Every day they had combats in the listed field,—the rush of steeds, the flash of swords, the shining of lances, and all the maddening tumult and din of battle;—helmets and bucklers were riven,—horses and riders overthrown, and ghastly wounds exchanged; but at the setting of the sun all was over; victors and vanquished met unscathed in glorious companionship around the festive board of Odin in Valhalla's hall, where they partook of the ample banquet, and quaffed full horns of beer and fragrant mead. For the just who did not die in fight, a more peaceful but less glorious elysium was provided;—a resplendent golden palace, surrounded by verdant meads and shady groves and fields of spontaneous fertility.

The early training of their youth was suited to the creed of this warlike people. In the tender days of childhood they were gradually hardened by athletic exercises, and nurtured through boyhood in difficult and daring feats. At the age of fifteen they were produced before some public assemblage, and presented with a sword, a buckler, and a lance: from that

time forth they mingled among men, and were expected to support themselves by hunting or warfare. But though thus early initiated in the rough and dangerous concerns of men, they were prohibited all indulgence with the softer sex until matured in years and vigor.

Their weapons of offence were bow and arrow, battle-axe and sword; and the latter was often engraved with some mystic characters, and bore a formidable and vaunting name.

The helmets of the common soldiery were of leather, and their bucklers leather and wood; but warriors of rank had helmets and shields of iron and brass, sometimes richly gilt and decorated; and they wore coats of mail, and occasionally plated armor.

A young chieftain of generous birth received higher endowments than the common class. Beside the hardy exercise of the chase and the other exercises connected with the use of arms, he was initiated betimes into the sacred science of the Runic writing, and instructed in the ancient lay, especially if destined for sovereignty, as every king was the pontiff of his people. When a prince had attained the age of eighteen, his father usually gave him a small fleet and a band of warriors, and sent him on some marauding voyage, from which it was disgraceful to return with empty hands.

Such was the moral and physical training of the Northmen, which prepared them for that wide and wild career of enterprise and conquest which has left its traces along all the coasts of Europe, and thrown communities and colonies, in the most distant regions, to remain themes of wonder and speculation in after ages. Actuated by the same roving and predatory spirit which had brought their Scythian ancestors from the banks of the Tanais, and rendered daring navigators by their experience along the stormy coasts of the north, they soon extended their warlike roamings over the ocean, and became complete maritime marauders, with whom piracy at sea was equivalent to chivalry on shore, and a freebooting cruise to a heroic enterprise.

For a time, the barks in which they braved the dangers of the sea, and infested the coasts of England and France, were mere canoes, formed from the trunks of trees, and so light as readily to be carried on men's shoulders, or dragged along the land. With these they suddenly swarmed upon a devoted coast, sailing up the rivers, shifting from stream to stream, and

often making their way back to the sea by some different river from that they had ascended. Their chiefs obtained the appellation of sea-kings, because, to the astonished inhabitants of the invaded coasts, they seemed to emerge suddenly from the ocean, and when they had finished their ravages, to retire again into its bosom as to their native home; and they were rightly named, in the opinion of the author of a northern Saga, seeing that their lives were passed upon the waves, and 'they never sought shelter under a roof, or drained their drinking horn at a cottage fire.'

Though plunder seemed to be the main object of this wild ocean chivalry, they had still that passion for martial renown, which grows up with the exercise of arms, however rude and lawless, and which in them was stimulated by the songs of the skalds.

We are told that they were 'sometimes seized with a sort of phrenzy, a *furor Martis*, produced by their excited imaginations dwelling upon the images of war and glory, and perhaps increased by those potations of stimulating liquors in which the people of the north, like other uncivilized tribes, indulged to great excess. When this madness was upon them, they committed the wildest extravagances, attacked indiscriminately friends and foes, and even waged war against the rocks and trees. At other times they defied each other to mortal combat in some lonely and desert isle.'

Among the most renowned of these early sea-kings was Ragnar Lodbrok, famous for his invasion of Northumbria, in England, and no less famous in ancient Sagas for his strange and cruel death. According to those poetic legends, he was a king of Denmark, who ruled his realms in peace, without being troubled with any dreams of conquest. His sons, however, were roving the seas with their warlike followers, and after a time tidings of their heroic exploits reached his court. The jealousy of Ragnar was excited, and he determined on an expedition that should rival their achievements. He accordingly ordered 'the Arrow,' the signal of war, to be sent through his dominions, summoning his 'champions' to arms. He had ordered two ships of immense size to be built, and in them he embarked with his followers. His faithful and discreet queen, Aslauga, warned him of the perils to which he was exposing himself, but in vain. He set sail for the north of England, which had formerly been invaded by his prede-

cessors. The expedition was driven back to port by a tempest. The queen repeated her warnings and entreaties, but finding them unavailing, she gave him a magical garment that had the virtue to render the wearer invulnerable.

'Ragnar again put to sea, and was at last shipwrecked on the English coast. In this emergency his courage did not desert him, but he pushed forward with his small band to ravage and plunder. Ella collected his forces to repel the invader. Ragnar, clothed with the enchanted garment he had received from his beloved Aslauga, and armed with the spear with which he had slain the guardian serpent of Thora, four times pierced the Saxon ranks, dealing death on every side, whilst his own body was invulnerable to the blows of his enemies. His friends and champions fell one by one around him, and he was at last taken prisoner alive. Being asked, who he was, he preserved an indignant silence. Then king Ella said:—"If this man will not speak, he shall endure so much the heavier punishment for his obduracy and contempt." So he ordered him to be thrown into the dungeon full of serpents, where he should remain till he told his name. Ragnar, being thrown into the dungeon, sat there a long time before the serpents attacked him; which being noticed by the spectators, they said he must be a brave man indeed whom neither arms nor vipers could hurt. Ella, hearing this, ordered his enchanted vest to be stripped off, and, soon afterwards, the serpents clung to him on all sides. Then Ragnar said, "how the young cubs would roar if they knew what the old boar suffers," and expired with a laugh of defiance.'—pp. 152, 153.

The death-song of Ragnar Lodbrok will be found in an appendix to Henderson's Iceland, both in the original and in a translation. The version, however, which is in prose, conveys but faintly the poetic spirit of the original. It consists of twenty-nine stanzas, most of them of nine lines, and contains, like the death-song of a warrior among the American Indians, a boastful narrative of his expeditions and exploits. Each stanza bears the same burden:

'Hiuggom ver med hiarvi.'
'We hewed them with our swords.'

Lodbrok exults that his achievements entitle him to admission among the gods; predicts that his children shall avenge his death; and glories that no sigh shall disgrace his exit. In the last stanza he hails the arrival of celestial virgins sent to invite him to the Hall of Odin, where he shall join the assembly of heroes, sit upon a lofty throne, and quaff the mellow beverage

of barley. The last strophe of this death-song is thus rendered by Mr. Wheaton:

'Cease my strain! I hear Them call
Who bid me hence to Odin's hall!
High seated in their blest abodes,
I soon shall quaff the drink of Gods.
The hours of Life have glided by,—
I fall! but laughing will I die!
The hours of Life have glided by,—
I fall! but laughing will I die!!'

The sons of Ragnar, if the Sagas may be believed, were not slow in revenging the death of their parent. They were absent from home on warlike expeditions at the time, and did not hear of the catastrophe until after their return to Denmark. Their first tidings of it were from the messengers of Ella, sent to propitiate their hostility. When the messengers entered the royal hall, they found the sons of Ragnar variously employed. Sigurdr Snakeseye was playing at chess with his brother Huitserk the Brave; while Björn Ironside was polishing the handle of his spear in the middle pavement of the hall. The messengers approached to where Ivar, the other brother, was sitting, and, saluting him with due reverence, told him they were sent by King Ella to announce the death of his royal father.

'As they began to unfold their tale, Sigurdr and Huitserk dropped their game, carefully weighing what was said. Björn stood in the midst of the hall, leaning on his spear: but Ivar diligently inquired by what means, and by what kind of death, his father had perished: which the messengers related, from his first arrival in England, till his death. When, in the course of their narrative, they came to the words of the dying king, "how the young whelps would roar if they knew their father's fate," Björn grasped the handle of his spear so fast, that the prints of his fingers remained; and when the tale was done, dashed the spear in pieces. Huitserk pressed the chess-board so hard with his hands, that they bled.

'Ivar changed color continually, now red, now black, now pale, whilst he struggled to suppress his kindling wrath.

'Huitserk the Brave, who first broke silence, proposed to begin their revenge by the death of the messengers; which Ivar forbad, commanding them to go in peace, wherever they would, and if they wanted any thing they should be supplied.

'Their mission being fulfilled, the delegates, passing through the hall, went down to their ships; and the wind being favorable, returned safely to their king. Ella, hearing from them how his message had been received by the princes, said that he foresaw that of all the brothers, Ivar or none was to be feared.'—pp. 188, 189.

The princes summoned their followers, launched their fleets, and attacked king Ella in the spring of 867.

'The battle took place at York, and the Anglo-Saxons were entirely routed. The sons of Ragnar inflicted a cruel and savage retaliation on Ella for his barbarous treatment of their father.

'After this battle, Northumbria appears no more as a Saxon kingdom, and Ivar was made king over that part of England which his ancestors had possessed, or into which they had made repeated incursions.'—pp. 189, 190.

Encouraged by the success that attended their enterprises in the northern seas, the Northmen now urged their adventurous prows into more distant regions, besetting the southern coasts of France with their fleets of light and diminutive barks. Charlemagne is said to have witnessed the inroad of one of their fleets from the windows of his palace, in the harbor of Narbonne; upon which he lamented the fate of his successors, who would have to contend with such audacious invaders. They entered the Loire, sacked the city of Nantz, and carried their victorious arms up to Tours. They ascended the Garonne, pillaged Bordeaux, and extended their incursion even to Toulouse. They also entered the Seine in 845, ravaging its banks, and pushing their enterprise to the very gates of Paris, compelled the monarch Charles to take refuge in the monastery of St. Denis, where he was fain to receive the piratical chieftain, Regnier, and to pay him a tribute of 7000 pounds of silver, on condition of his evacuating his capital and kingdom. Regnier, besides immense booty, carried back to Denmark, as trophies of his triumph, a beam from the abbey of St. Germain, and a nail from the gate of Paris; but his followers spread over their native country a contagious disease which they had contracted in France.

Spain was, in like manner, subject to their invasions. They ascended the Guadalquivir, attacked the great city of Seville, and demolished its fortifications, after severe battles with the Moors, who were then sovereigns of that country, and who re-

garded these unknown invaders from the sea as magicians, on account of their wonderful daring, and still more wonderful success. As the author well observes, 'the contrast between these two races of fanatic barbarians, the one issuing forth from the frozen regions of the north, the other from the burning sands of Asia and Africa, forms one of the most striking pictures presented by history.'

The Straits of Gibraltar being passed by these rovers of the north, the Mediterranean became another region for their exploits. Hastings, one of their boldest chieftains, and father of that Hastings who afterwards battled with King Alfred for the sovereignty of England, accompanied by Biorn Ironside and Sydroc, two sons of Ragnar Lodbrok, undertook an expedition against Rome, the capital of the world, tempted by accounts of its opulence and splendor, but not precisely acquainted with its site. They penetrated the Mediterranean with a fleet of one hundred barks, and entered the port of Luna in Tuscany, an ancient city, whose high walls and towers, and stately edifices, made them mistake it for imperial Rome.

'The inhabitants were celebrating the festival of Christmas in the cathedral, when the news was spread among them of the arrival of a fleet of unknown strangers. The church was instantly deserted, and the citizens ran to shut the gates, and prepared to defend their town. Hastings sent a herald to inform the count and bishop of Luna that he and his band were Northmen, conquerors of the Franks, who designed no harm to the inhabitants of Italy, but merely sought to repair their shattered barks. In order to inspire more confidence, Hastings pretended to be weary of the wandering life he had so long led, and desired to find repose in the bosom of the Christian church. The bishop and the count furnished the fleet with the needful succor; Hastings was baptised; but still his Norman followers were not admitted within the city walls. Their chief was then obliged to resort to another stratagem: he feigned to be dangerously ill; his camp resounded with the lamentations of his followers; he declared his intention of leaving the rich booty he had acquired to the church, provided they would grant him sepulture in holy ground. The wild howl of the Normans soon announced the death of their chieftain. The inhabitants followed the funeral procession to the church, but at the moment they were about to deposit his apparently lifeless body, Hastings started up from his coffin, and, seizing his sword, struck down the officiating bishop. His

followers instantly obeyed this signal of treachery: they drew from under their garments their concealed weapons, massacred the clergy and others who assisted at the ceremony, and spread havoc and consternation throughout the town. Having thus become master of Luna, the Norman chieftain discovered his error, and found that he was still far from Rome, which was not likely to fall so easy a prey. After having transported on board his barks the wealth of the city, as well as the most beautiful women, and the young men capable of bearing arms or of rowing, he put to sea, intending to return to the north.

'The Italian traditions as to the destruction of this city resemble more nearly the romance of Romeo and Juliet, than the history of the Scandinavian adventurer. According to these accounts, the prince of Luna was inflamed with the beauty of a certain young empress, then travelling in company with the emperor her husband. Their passion was mutual, and the two lovers had recourse to the following stratagem, in order to accomplish their union. The empress feigned to be grievously sick: she was believed to be dead; her funeral obsequies were duly celebrated; but she escaped from the sepulchre, and secretly rejoined her lover. The emperor had no sooner heard of their crime, than he marched to attack the residence of the ravisher, and avenged himself by the entire destruction of the once flourishing city of Luna. The only point of resemblance between these two stories consists in the romantic incident of the destruction of the city by means of a feigned death, a legend which spread abroad over Italy and France.'

The last and greatest of the sea-kings, or pirate heroes of the north, was Rollo, surnamed Ferus Fortis, the Lusty Boar or Hardy Beast, from whom William the Conqueror comes in lineal, though not legitimate, descent. Our limits do not permit us to detail the early history of this warrior, as selected by our author from among the fables of the Norman chronicles, and the more simple, and, he thinks, more veritable narratives in the Icelandic Sagas. We shall merely state that Rollo arrived with a band of Northmen, all fugitive adventurers, like himself, upon the coast of France; ascended the Seine to Rouen, subjugated the fertile province then called Neustria; named it Normandy from the Northmen, his followers, and crowned himself first Duke.

'Under his firm and vigorous rule, the blessings of order and peace were restored to a country which had so long and so cruelly suffered from the incursions of the northern adventurers.

He tolerated the Christians in their worship, and they flocked in crowds to live under the dominion of a Pagan and barbarian, in preference to their own native and Christian prince (Charles the Simple) who was unwilling or incapable to protect them.'

Rollo established in his duchy of Normandy a feudal aristocracy, or rather it grew out of the circumstances of the country. His followers elected him duke, and he made them counts and barons and knights. The clergy also pressed themselves into his great council or parliament. The laws were reduced to a system by men of acute intellect, and this system of feudal law was subsequently transplanted by William the Conqueror into England, as a means of consolidating his power and establishing his monarchy.

'Rollo is said also to have established the Court of Exchequer as the supreme tribunal of justice; and the perfect security afforded by the admirable system of police established in England by King Alfred is likewise attributed to the legislation of the first Duke of Normandy.'—p. 252.

Trial by battle, or judicial combat, was a favorite appeal to God by the warlike nations of Scandinavia, as by most of the barbarous tribes who established themselves on the ruin of the Roman empire. It had fallen into disuse in France, but was revived by Rollo in Normandy, although the clergy were solicitous to substitute the ordeal of fire and water, which brought controversies within their control. The fierce Norman warriors disdained this clerical mode of decision, and strenuously insisted on the appeal to the sword. They afterwards, at the conquest, introduced the trial by combat into England, where it became a part of the common law.*

*A statue or effigy of Rollo, over a sarcophagus, is still to be seen in the cathedral at Rouen, with a Latin inscription, stating that he was converted to Christianity in 913, and died in 917, and that his bones were removed to this spot from their place of original sepulture, in A. D. 1063. The ancient epitaph, in rhyming monkish Latin, has been lost, except the following lines:

Dux Normanorum
Cunctorum,
Norma Bonorum.
Rollo, Ferus fortis,
Quem gens Normanica mortis
Invocat articulo,
Clauditur hoc tumulo.

A spirit of chivalry and love of daring adventure, a romantic gallantry towards the sex, and a zealous devotion were blended in the character of the Norman knights. These high and generous feelings they brought with them into England, and bore with them in their crusades into the Holy Land. Poetry also continued to be cherished and cultivated among them, and the Norman troubadour succeeded to the Scandinavian skald. The Dukes of Normandy and Anglo-Norman kings were practisers as well as patrons of this delightful art; and Henry I., surnamed Beauclerc, and Richard Cœur de Lion, were distinguished among the poetical composers of their day.

'The Norman minstrel,' to quote the words of our author, 'appropriated the fictions they found already accredited among the people for whom they versified. The British King Arthur, his fabled knights of the Round Table, and the enchanter Merlin, with his wonderful prophecies; the Frankish monarch Charlemagne and his paladins; and the rich inventions of Oriental fancy borrowed from the Arabs and the Moors.'—p. 262.

We have thus cursorily accompanied our author in his details of the origin and character, the laws and superstitions, and primitive religion, and also of the roving expeditions and conquests of the Northmen; and we give him credit for the judgment and candor and careful research, with which he has gleaned and collated his interesting facts, from the rubbish of fables and fictions with which they were bewildered and obscured.

Another leading feature in his work, is the conversion of the Northmen, and the countries from which they came, to the Christian faith. An attempt to condense or analyze this part of his work would lead us too far, and do injustice to the minuteness and accuracy of his details. We must, for like reasons, refer the reader to the work itself for the residue of its

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Imitation.

Rollo, that hardy Boar
  Renowned of yore,
Of all the Normans Duke;
Whose name with dying breath
  In article of death,
All Norman knights invoke;
  That mirror of the bold,
  This tomb doth hold.

contents. We shall merely remark, that he goes over the same ground with the English historians, Hume, Turner, Lingard, and Palgrave, gleaning from the original authorities whatever may have been omitted by them. He has also occasionally corrected some errors into which they have fallen, through want of more complete access or more critical attention to the Icelandic sagas and the Danish and Swedish historians, who narrated the successful invasion of England by the Danes, under Canute, and its final conquest by William of Normandy.

We shall take leave of our author with some extracts from the triumphant invasion of William, premising a few words concerning his origin and early history. Robert Duke of Normandy, called Robert the Magnificent by his flatterers, but more commonly known as Robert the Devil, from his wild and savage nature, had an amour with Arlette, the daughter of a tanner, or currier, of Falaise, in Normandy. The damsel gave birth to a male child, who was called William. While the boy was yet in childhood, Robert the Devil resolved to expiate his sins by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and compelled his counts and barons to swear fealty to his son. 'Par ma foi,' said Robert, 'je ne vous laisserai point sans seigneur. J'ai un petit bâtard qui grandira s'il plait à Dieu. Choisisez le dès ce présent, et je le saiserai devant vous de ce duché comme mon successeur.' The Norman lords placed their hands between the hands of the child, and swore fidelity to him according to feudal usage. Robert the Devil set out on his pious pilgrimage, and died at Nice. The right of the boy William was contested by Guy, Count of Burgundy, and other claimants, but he made it good with his sword, and then confirmed it by espousing Matilda, daughter of the Count of Flanders.

On the death of Edward the Confessor, King of England, Harold, from his fleetness surnamed Harefoot, one of the bravest nobles of the realm, assumed the crown, to the exclusion of Edgar Atheling, the lawful heir. It was said that Edward had named Harold to succeed him. William Duke of Normandy laid claim to the English throne. We have not room in this review to investigate his title, which was little more than bare pretension. He alleged that Edward the Confessor had promised to bequeath to him the crown; but his chief reliance was upon his sword. Harold, while yet a subject, had fallen by accident within the power of William,

who had obtained from him, by cajolery and extortion, an oath, sworn on certain sacred reliques, not to impede him in his plans to gain the English crown.

William prepared an expedition in Normandy, and published a war ban, inviting adventurers of all countries to join him in the invasion of England, and partake the pillage. He procured a consecrated banner from the Pope under the promise of a portion of the spoil, and embarked a force of nearly sixty thousand men on board four hundred vessels and above a thousand boats.

'The ship which bore William preceded the rest of the fleet, with the consecrated banner of the Pope displayed at the mast head, its many-colored sails embellished with the lions of Normandy, and its prow adorned with the figure of an infant archer bending his bow and ready to let fly his arrow.'

William landed his force at Pevensey, near Hastings, on the coast of Sussex, on the 28th of September, 1066; and we shall state from the Norman chronicles some few particulars of this interesting event, not included in the volume under review. The archers disembarked first,—they had short vestments and cropped hair; then the horsemen, armed with coats of mail, caps of iron, straight two-edged swords, and long powerful lances; then the pioneers and artificers, who disembarked, piece by piece, the materials for three wooden towers, all ready to be put together. The Duke was the last to land, for, says the chronicle, 'there was no opposing enemy.' King Harold was in Northumbria, repelling an army of Norwegian invaders.

As William leaped on shore, he stumbled and fell upon his face. Exclamations of foreboding were heard among his followers; but he grasped the earth with his hands, and raising them filled with it towards the heavens, 'Thus,' cried he, 'do I seize upon this land, and by the splendor of God, as far as it extends, it shall be mine.' His ready wit thus converted a sinister accident into a favorable omen. Having pitched his camp and reared his wooden towers near to the town of Hastings, he sent forth his troops to forage and lay waste the country; nor were even the churches and cemeteries held sacred to which the English had fled for refuge.

Harold was at York, reposing after a victory over the Norwegians, in which he had been wounded, when he heard of this new invasion. Undervaluing the foe, he set forth instantly

with such force as he could muster, though a few days' delay would have brought great reinforcements. On his way he met a Norman monk, sent to him by William, with three alternatives: 1. To abdicate in his favor. 2. To refer their claims to the decision of the Pope. 3. To determine them by single combat. Harold refused all three, and quickened his march; but finding, as he drew nearer, that the Norman army was thrice the number of his own, he intrenched his host seven miles from their camp, upon a range of hills, behind a rampart of palisadoes and osier hurdles.

The impending night of the battle was passed by the Normans in warlike preparations, or in confessing their sins and receiving the sacrament, and the camp resounded with the prayers and chantings of priests and friars. As to the Saxon warriors, they sat round their camp-fires, carousing horns of beer and wine, and singing old national war-songs.

At an early hour in the morning of the 14th of October, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and bastard brother of the Duke, being the son of his mother Arlette, by a burgher of Falaise, celebrated mass, and gave his benediction to the Norman army. He then put a hauberk under his cassock, mounted a powerful white charger, and led forth a brigade of cavalry; for he was as ready with the spear as with the crosier, and for his fighting and other turbulent propensities, well merited his surname of Odo the Unruly.

The army was formed into three columns:—one composed of mercenaries from the countries of Boulogne and Ponthieu; the second of auxiliaries from Brittany and elsewhere; the third of Norman troops, led by William in person. Each column was preceded by archers in light quilted coats instead of armor, some with long bows, and others with cross-bows of steel. Their mode of fighting was to discharge a flight of arrows, and then retreat behind the heavy armed troops. The Duke was mounted on a Spanish steed, around his neck were suspended some of the reliques on which Harold had made oath, and the consecrated standard was borne at his side.

William harangued his soldiers, reminding them of the exploits of their ancestors, the massacre of the Northmen in England, and, in particular, the murder of their brethren the Danes. But he added another and a stronger excitement to their valor;—'Fight manfully, and put all to the sword; and if we conquer, we shall all be rich. What I gain, you gain; what I

conquer, you conquer; if I gain the land, it is yours.' We shall give, in our author's own words, the further particulars of this decisive battle, which placed a Norman sovereign on the English throne.

'The spot which Harold had selected for this ever-memorable contest was a high ground, then called Senlac, nine miles from Hastings, opening to the south, and covered in the rear by an extensive wood. He posted his troops on the declivity of the hill in one compact mass, covered with their shields, and wielding their enormous battle-axes. In the centre the royal standard, or gonfanon, was fixed in the ground, with the figure of an armed warrior, worked in thread of gold, and ornamented with precious stones. Here stood Harold, and his brothers Gurth and Leofwin, and around them the rest of the Saxon army, every man on foot.

'As the Normans approached the Saxon intrenchments, the monks and priests who accompanied their army retired to a neighboring hill to pray, and observe the issue of the battle. A Norman warrior, named Taillefer, spurred his horse in front of the line, and, tossing up in the air his sword, which he caught again in his hand, sang the national song of Charlemagne and Roland;—the Normans joined in the chorus, and shouted, "Dieu aide! Dieu aide!" They were answered by the Saxons, with the adverse cry of "Christ's rood! the holy rood!"

'The Norman archers let fly a shower of arrows into the Saxon ranks. Their infantry and cavalry advanced to the gates of the redoubts, which they vainly endeavored to force. The Saxons thundered upon their armor, and broke their lances with the heavy battle-axe, and the Normans retreated to the division commanded by William. The Duke then caused his archers again to advance, and to direct their arrows obliquely in the air, so that they might fall beyond and over the enemy's rampart. The Saxons were severely galled by the Norman missiles, and Harold himself was wounded in the eye. The attack of the infantry and men-at-arms again commenced with the cries of "Nôtre-Dame! Dieu aide! Dieu aide!" But the Normans were repulsed, and pursued by the Saxons to a deep ravine, where their horses plunged and threw the riders. The *mêlée* was here dreadful, and a sudden panic seized the invaders, who fled from the field, exclaiming that their duke was slain. William rushed before the fugitives, with his helmet in hand, menacing and even striking them with his lance, and shouting with a loud voice:—"I am still alive, and with the help of God I still shall conquer!" The men-at-arms once more returned to

attack the redoubts, but they were again repelled by the impregnable phalanx of the Saxons. The Duke now resorted to the stratagem of ordering a thousand horse to advance, and then suddenly retreat, in the hope of drawing the enemy from his intrenchments. The Saxons fell into the snare, and rushed out with their battle-axes slung about their necks, to pursue the flying foe. The Normans were joined by another body of their own army, and both turned upon the Saxons, who were assailed on every side with swords and lances, whilst their hands were employed in wielding their enormous battle-axes. The invaders now rushed through the broken ranks of their opponents into the intrenchments, pulled down the royal standard, and erected in its place the papal banner. Harold was slain, with his brothers Gurth and Leofwin. The sun declined in the western horizon, and with his retiring beams sunk the glory of the Saxon name.

'The rest of the companions of Harold fled from the fatal field, where the Normans passed the night, exulting over their hard-earned victory. The next morning, William ranged his troops under arms, and every man who passed the sea was called by name, according to the muster-roll drawn up before their embarkation at St. Valery. Many were deaf to that call. The invading army consisted originally of nearly sixty thousand men, and of these one-fourth lay dead on the field. To the fortunate survivors was allotted the spoil of the vanquished Saxons, as the first fruits of their victory; and the bodies of the slain, after being stripped, were hastily buried by their trembling friends. According to one narrative, the body of Harold was begged by his mother as a boon from William, to whom she offered as a ransom its weight in gold. But the stern and pitiless conqueror ordered the corpse of the Saxon king to be buried on the beach, adding, with a sneer, "He guarded the coast while he lived, let him continue to guard it now he is dead." Another account represents that two monks of the monastery of Waltham, which had been founded by the son of Godwin, humbly approached the Norman, and offered him ten marks of gold for permission to bury their king and benefactor. They were unable to distinguish his body among the heaps of slain, and sent for Harold's mistress, Editha, surnamed "the Fair" and "the Swan's Neck," to assist them in the search. The features of the Saxon monarch were recognized by her whom he had loved, and his body was interred at Waltham, with regal honors, in the presence of several Norman earls and knights.'

We have reached the conclusion of Mr. Wheaton's interesting volume, yet we are tempted to add a few words more

from other sources. We would observe that there are not wanting historians who dispute the whole story of Harold having fallen on the field of battle. 'Years afterwards,' we are told by one of the most curiously learned of English scholars, 'when the Norman yoke pressed heavily upon the English, and the battle of Hastings had become a tale of sorrow, which old men narrated by the light of the embers, until warned to silence by the sullen tolling of the curfew,' there was an ancient anchorite, maimed, and scarred, and blind of an eye, who led a life of penitence and seclusion in a cell near the Abbey of St. John at Chester. This holy man was once visited by Henry I., who held a long and secret discourse with him, and on his death-bed he declared to the attendant monks that he was Harold.* According to this account, he had been secretly conveyed from the field of battle to a castle, and thence to this sanctuary; and the finding and burying of his corpse by the tender Editha, is supposed to have been a pious fraud. The monks of Waltham, however, stood up stoutly for the authenticity of their royal reliques. They showed a tomb, enclosing a mouldering skeleton, the bones of which still bore the marks of wounds received in battle, while the sepulchre bore the effigies of the monarch, and this brief but pathetic epitaph:—*Hic jacet Harold infelix.*'

For a long time after the eventful battle of the conquest, it is said that traces of blood might be seen upon the field, and, in particular, upon the hills to the south-west of Hastings, whenever a light rain moistened the soil. It is probable they were discolorations of the soil, where heaps of the slain had been buried. We have ourselves seen broad and dark patches on the hill side of Waterloo, where thousands of the dead lay mouldering in one common grave, and where, for several years after the battle, the rank green corn refused to ripen, though all the other part of the hill was covered with a golden harvest.

William the conqueror, in fulfilment of a vow, caused a monastic pile to be erected on the field, which, in commemoration of the event, was called the 'Abbey of Battle.' The architects complained that there were no springs of water on the site. 'Work on! work on!' replied he, jovially; 'if God but grant me life, there shall flow more good wine among the holy

* Palgrave, Hist. Eng., Cap. XV.

friars of this convent, than there does clear water in the best monastery of Christendom.'

The abbey was richly endowed, and invested with archiepiscopal jurisdiction. In its archives was deposited a roll, bearing the names of the followers of William, among whom he had shared the conquered land. The grand altar was placed on the very spot where the banner of the hapless Harold had been unfurled, and here prayers were perpetually to be offered up for the repose of all who had fallen in the contest. 'All this pomp and solemnity,' adds Mr. Palgrave, 'has passed away like a dream! The perpetual prayer has ceased forever; the roll of battle is rent; the escutcheons of the Norman lineages are trodden in the dust. A dark and reedy pool marks where the abbey once reared its stately towers, and nothing but the foundations of the choir remain for the gaze of the idle visiter, and the instruction of the moping antiquary.'*

ART. IV.—*Journal of the Landers.*

Journal of an Expedition to explore the Course and Termination of the Niger: with a Narrative of a Voyage down that River to its Termination. By RICHARD and JOHN LANDER. J. and J. Harper. New York. 1832.

We shall certainly be justified in pronouncing this work one of the most deeply interesting, in its kind, which has appeared in modern times. Independently of the very spirited running style of travellers, quite as good-humored and shrewd as they are energetic, and of the novelty attached to descriptions of new countries and people, and to a personal narrative of unusual vicissitude, it is sufficient to immortalize the Journal and its Authors alike, that it records the discovery of the long-sought termination of the Niger,—the river of Herodotus, 'full of crocodiles and flowing to the east,'—the Nile of Strabo,—the Arabian 'Nile of the Negroes,' pouring into the 'Sea of Darkness,'—the object of more inquiry and the occasion of more effort, perhaps, than any other locality on the face of the globe.

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* Palgrave, Hist. Eng., Cap. XV.

A synopsis of the exertions and theories made and maintained for the solution of this great geographical mystery, from a period of five hundred years before the Christian era to the discovery of 1830, would doubtless furnish matter enough of amusement or improvement to all such as are inclined to be witty or wise at the expense of their grandfathers. For the present, however, we shall be content with ascertaining what has been actually learned and done, having, practically at least, rather more to do with the 'termination' than with the far-flowing and misty tide of speculation, which, like the river itself, has heretofore been the cause of quite as much entertainment as benefit, and of perplexity greater than either.

We say practically;—for we do not apprehend this grand problem to have been solved only for the edification of contending literati, or the gratification of the spectators at large. A broad, rich, magnificent territory has been opened to view; and all its immense population, of a race the easiest on earth to be civilized, on a soil the most fertile the sun shines upon, has been brought forward, as it were, to invite the freeest access of every species of mercantile and moral commerce which the world can offer. Its resources, its necessities, and still more its capacities, are beyond estimate. Is there no field here for the missionary,* and no fund for the merchant? Will our worthy neighbors, the English, claim and command the whole benefit, with the whole credit, of this last continent, as that liberal-minded functionary, Alexander the Sixth, of Rome, once undertook to divide the larger part of the globe between Portugal and Spain? Will they make such a contract of purveyance and pre-emption with 'Mr. Gunn,' 'King Jacket,' Duke Ephraim, or any other potentate of the region round about, that the Niger shall be hermetically sealed, forever, against every thing but a Thames steam-boat or a Liverpool oil-craft? We trow not. The same enterprise and the same energy, which, long before Burke's time, 'infested all seas,' and which, within the year past, have mounted the Missouri, two thousand miles, by the aid of this same machinery of Fulton, will soon traverse alike the Sea of Darkness and the River of Crocodiles. The Felátahs will turn white

* Since writing the text, we understand that definitive measures have already been taken in this city for the establishment of a school and station on the Niger, as soon as the English expeditions shall have made that design practicable.

with Lowell cottons; Yankee hats will supersede, in Yariba, that elegant ornament of man's head, the cow's tail; Ephraim will add a box of pine nutmegs to his present rare collection of keep-sakes; and his majesty, Jacket, of small-beer memory, will give as much for a wooden clock as he did for a cap made of the worn-out skirts of Mr. Lander's green baize spencer.—But our enthusiasm mounts apace.

The result of the expedition of which the details are given in the volumes before us has been to increase our knowledge of the Niger to such an extent, that at the present time no part of its whole length remains unexplored, with the exception of a few hundred miles between Yàoorie,—a large city and kingdom in about 12° north latitude, the most northerly point of the Landers' route,—and Timbuctoo, which, after having been so long sought for in vain by travellers from all parts of Europe, has been recently visited by the Frenchman Caillié. The continuity of the stream between these termini is placed beyond a doubt by the most conclusive circumstantial evidence. The Niger above Timbuctoo, by Park called the Joliba, has been repeatedly visited in all directions; and the Landers, on the other side, have now succeeded in navigating the entire river below Yàoorie, to its *embouchure* in the Gulf of Guinea, a travelling distance of perhaps a thousand miles.

The Niger is found to run in almost every direction except due west, and this is another of its numerous peculiarities. Rising in about 11° north latitude, among the same mountains which supply the source of the Senegal, it begins with flowing towards the north. At Bammakoo, a large place visited by Mungo Park, the principal stream flows a little north of east to Silla, to which point Park accurately determined its course; thence north-east to Timbuctoo; thence, by conjectural calculation, south-east to Yàoorie; and thence south, south-east, and south-west to its mouth. The description of the river by the traveller just named and others is familiar to all readers. The portion of it explored last, is quite similar, though, of course, with those occasional differences which always distinguish the lower section of a large stream from the upper.

The Landers first saw it at Boossà, where Park and his associates met with their unhappy fate. Here, in its widest part, the breadth did not exceed a stone's-throw, the water being lower than usual, and the travellers were naturally

enough disappointed: a short day's journey north of this, the branch on which the town of Kagogie stands, measures about a mile ;—so much does the character of the stream change within that distance. Even boat navigation was impracticable in this quarter: the travellers ascended by land because a canoe could not be paddled up without 'the greatest difficulty and danger on account of the rocks,'—and hence the misfortune of Park. At Kagogie, it is rendered so shallow by large sand-banks, that 'a child might wade across it.'

At this point, canoes and canoe-men were procured, and the party pursued the stream till they fell into the main branch of the river, and then a new phase is presented us :

'We found it flowing from north to south, through a rich and charming country, which seemed to improve in appearance the further we advanced. We were propelled at a good rate up a channel, which, from half a mile in breadth, gradually widened to rather better than a mile. Beautiful, spreading and spiry trees adorned the country on each side of the river, like a park ; corn, nearly ripe, waved over the water's edge ; large open villages appeared every half hour ; and herds of spotted cattle were observed grazing and enjoying the cool of the shade. The appearance of the river for several miles was no less enchanting than its borders ; it was as smooth as a lake ; canoes, laden with sheep and goats, were paddled by women down its almost imperceptible current ; swallows and a variety of aquatic birds were sporting over its glassy surface, which was ornamented by a number of pretty little islands.'—Vol. I. p. 252.

During the ensuing day, the river widened to two miles, for as great a length as the eye could compass ; its regularity and calmness giving it the appearance of a vast canal, while the equally uniform borders resembled a dwarf wall. At a little distance from the margin, they were broken up into hills and hollows, shaded occasionally with the massy foliage of fine trees, and almost covered with villages. But soon afterwards, the banks became black rugged rocks ; the hamlets disappeared ; and the broad bosom of the river was filled with a motley mass of shallows, quicksands, and islands. Indeed the most navigable and beautiful water just described was 'in most places extremely shallow, though in others deep enough to float a frigate.' The travellers were continually running their canoe upon rocks and sand-banks, and, but for the good-humor of the boatmen, might been have subjected to no small inconveniences.

As it was, delay was their greatest trial. The old chief of one of the villages where they landed enjoined the leader or 'King' of the crew, on re-embarking, to be careful of his charge. 'Careful!' answered the man: 'careful!—do I not know that white men are more precious than eggs?' This conclusive appeal silenced the chief, but not the travellers. They became weary of the man's excessive laziness, and attempted to stimulate him by pointing out the canoes which left him behind. 'Ah!' he replied; 'Kings do not travel like common men; I must go as slow as possible.' Presently they came to what the fur-traders upon our north-western waters call a carrying-place, the stream being altogether impassable. A range of rocks ran directly across, like a dam, so that the water, finding but one narrow passage, rushed through it with an impetuosity which overturned every thing in its course. But having surmounted this difficulty, the remaining distance to Yàoorie was again broad, still, and beautiful as can be imagined. Not a sand-bank or a breaker was perceptible. The borders were green as Eden. The soil approved itself in immense patches of corn, rice, indigo and cotton; groups of laborers toiled briskly among them to the beating of a drum; and the travellers, in fine spirits, with a fresh bland air from the south, moved onward along the edge of two lovely little islands, clothed in verdure, 'which at a short distance looked as charming as the fabled gardens of Hesperia.'

At Yàoorie, as we have already observed, the voyage terminated, and the travellers soon after returned to Boossà. But, lest our description of the river between these two points should be taken as a fair specimen of its whole course, it should be understood, that the Landers were told that there were neither rocks nor sand-banks above Yàoorie or below Boossà. How literally this description is to be construed in regard to the upper section, may be inferred from the details of the subsequent navigation below; in the main, however, it is correct. In its natural bed, at this season, (June,) the river here runs between one and two miles an hour; among interruptions, and in the rainy months, more rapidly. After the 'malca,' or fourteen-days' rain, it is very generally navigated in all directions by the canoe-men with perfect ease and safety: in particular sections where the towns are mostly located, such is always the case. The market of Waree, a little above Boossà, is attended by myriads of people from the neigh-

boring kingdoms, who frequently cover the stream for a considerable distance with vast numbers of small craft. The extraordinary narrowness of the river at Boossà itself, already mentioned, is accounted for by the supposition that a large portion of the water passes through subterranean channels.

It is not a little amusing to learn, that the natives of this region agitate their theories about the Niger with all the pertinacity of the learned in civilized countries. A discussion of the Landers upon this subject was on one occasion interrupted by a shrewd fellow who came forward to assert, that at no great distance from Boossà, the river took a turn to the eastward, and disembogued itself into the lake Tshad in Bornou—which, by the way, was the theory of Major Denham. Sultan Bello, of Nouffie, suggested this inestimable fact, together with the following *explanation* attached to the map which he furnished that gentleman, and which may be seen in the appendix to the English edition of Mr. Clapperton's travels. It will sufficiently illustrate the clearness and extent of that sovereign's information.

'Now the great river Cowára [Niger] comes, and here is its representation. This great river is the largest in all the territories of Hàussa: we know not of its source, nor of any one who has seen it. It rushes and precipitates itself through the country, from left to right, and contains many islands, inhabited by fishermen, herdsmen, husbandmen, and settlers. As to the variety of its animals, birds, and fish, it is only known to the Lord Creator: it has rocks and mountains which break and shatter to pieces all vessels that are driven against them; and its great roaring and noise, with the agitation of its waves, astonish the hearer and terrify the beholder, and at the same time exhibit the wonderful power of the Omnipotent Creator.'

Still more satisfactory, if possible, is the traditional account of some other natives, who stated that 'the river Cowára runs through mountains, and a great many woods and forests; and has mountains on the north and east. This great river issues from the mountains of the Moon; and what we know of it is, that it comes from Sookau to Kiga, &c.* It is remarkable, that amidst all this jumble of nonsense, Clapperton met at Tabra, in Nouffie, with the theory which has proved the true one. He was there told, that the Quorra, another of the Niger's many names, '*ran into the sea behind Benin*, at Funda.'† This description, though accompanied with details

* Clapperton, p. 340. † Ibid.

which, no doubt, prepossessed the traveller against it, happens to be as correct as possible.

But to rejoin our party at Boossà;—the remainder of their expedition was a continuous though much delayed descent of the Niger to its mouth, which occupied them from the first of August, when they left the city just mentioned, until the middle of November. The river was now somewhat swollen, and the current occasionally ran at the rate of five or six miles an hour: in other respects the description already given of the upper section applies with some qualification to the lower, and there is especially the same diversity of wide and narrow, and shallow and deep. The same is true of the scenery. More frequently the banks are low and very fertile; but in the neighborhood of Lever, which was passed in the month of October, they were forty feet above the level, and steep to the water-side. Here, for some dozen miles, the Niger 'rolled grandly along, a noble river, neither obstructed by islands, nor deformed with rocks and stones:'—the width being from one to three miles. Then comes a range of moderate hills. Then Mount Kesa springs up in the middle of the stream, to the height of three hundred feet, almost perpendicular. Then the borders of the river are 'exceedingly flat, low and swampy,' and appeared as though they were partially overflowed; for trees and shrubs were shooting up in many places out of the body of the latter: and this, on the whole, was the prevailing character of the country, especially as the travellers approached the termination. They floated down thirty miles one night, in a terrific storm, for want of a 'bit of dry land,' whereupon to lodge; and they were after all glad to fasten the canoe to the branches of a thorn-tree in the middle of the stream, and to sleep with their legs dangling over the sides of the little vessel into the water. It could not have added materially to the comfort of this situation, that the crocodiles and hippopotami had for some time been plashing and snorting about the canoe, so near, that the Englishmen thumped them with the breech of their muskets, while the poor natives on board absolutely yelled with dismay and consternation. Richard Lander took the liberty to deposit a bullet in or about the nostrils of one; but the game did not prove profitable, for not only all that were afloat before, but a vigorous reinforcement from the mud below, forthwith commenced so close a pursuit that the blacks were under the necessity of howling and paddling

still louder and longer than before, and had much difficulty to escape, at the best. 'However, the terrible hippopotami,' adds Richard, 'did us no kind of damage whatever.' In the course of the twenty-four hours during which this affair took place, the travellers accomplished about one hundred miles of their journey. The river presented a very magnificent appearance, being nearly *eight miles* in width.

By the middle of October, the waters were much higher. The abundant rice-grounds had for some distance been overflowed; but now the villages themselves were frequently in the same situation. No people, perhaps, (unless it may be one in the south of Russia, described by Clarke,) live quite so much, generally, in, under and upon the water, as the natives of this region; but the present emergency was too severe for them. One unfortunate little town was floated off altogether, with the exception of a few huts. The travellers approached this spot as near as possible, to make inquiries about the route. They 'bawled,' and 'hallooed,' till they were tired, to a party of the good citizens who were walking through the *streets*, knee-deep in water; but no answer was given them. Finally, a priest informed them, that the Niger, being unusually full this season, had washed away a considerable portion of their village;—'which,' adds our informant with an air of simplicity, 'was apparent from the great number of frames of huts we had seen stuck in the sand outside, more especially the circular tops of them, *which had a very odd appearance in the river.*' We are inclined to believe, that the citizens were not much flattered with the somewhat particular attention of the travellers at this juncture;—they could hardly entertain them to advantage. Again;—the town of Egga, it is said, is of prodigious extent, and has an immense population; and a large part of that place too was overflowed. Of Brass town, a considerable mercantile place near the mouth of the river, which the travellers reached November 15th, we cannot do better than to give their own account.

'Of all the wretched, filthy, and contemptible places in this world of ours, none can present to the eye of a stranger so miserable an appearance, or can offer such disgusting and loathsome sights, as this abominable Brass town. Dogs, goats, and other animals run about the dirty streets half starved, whose hungry looks can only be exceeded by the famishing appearance of the men, women, and children, which bespeaks the penury and

wretchedness to which they are reduced; while the persons of many of them are covered with odious biles, and their huts are falling to the ground from neglect and decay.

'Brass, properly speaking, consists of two towns, of nearly equal size, containing about a thousand inhabitants each, and built on the borders of a kind of basin, which is formed by a number of rivulets, entering it from the Niger, through forests of mangrove bushes. One of them is under the domination of a noted scoundrel called *King Jacket*, who has already been spoken of; and the other is governed by a rival chief, named *King Forday*. These towns are situated directly opposite each other, and within the distance of eighty yards; and are built on a marshy ground, which occasions the huts to be always wet. Another place, called "Pilot's town" by Europeans, from the number of pilots that reside in it, is situated nearly at the mouth of the First Brass River (which we understand is the "*Nun*" river of Europeans,) and at the distance of sixty or seventy miles from hence. This town acknowledges the authority of both kings, having been originally peopled by settlers from each of their towns. At the ebb of the tide, the basin is left perfectly dry, with the exception of small gutters, and presents a smooth and almost unvaried surface of black mud, which emits an intolerable odor, owing to the decomposition of vegetable substances, and the quantity of filth and nastiness which is thrown into the basin by the inhabitants of both towns. Notwithstanding this nuisance, both children and grown-up persons may be seen sporting in the mud, whenever the tide goes out, all naked, and amusing themselves in the same manner as if they were on shore.'—Vol. II. pp. 253, 254.

But this, as we have already hinted, is by no means to be taken for a specimen of the entire banks of the Niger, even during the rainy season. In many parts the navigation and the scenery, by night as well as day, were really delightful. The islands, which are numerous and sometimes very large, were almost universally the most lovely and fertile spots to be conceived. Patashie, (some forty or fifty miles below Boossà,) an island fifteen miles in length, is said to be 'large, rich and unspeakably beautiful;' it is embellished with superb groves of palm and other noble trees; while the soil is so fertile, and the natives so frugal,—a rare virtue with their race,—that not an acre on the island is left without cultivation.

October 4th, the journal says:

'The banks of the river near Lever are high, being, according to our estimation, about forty feet above the river, and steep to

the water-side. The river itself appeared deep, and free from rocks of any kind; its direction nearly south. We ran down the stream very pleasantly for twelve or fourteen miles, the Niger, during the whole of the distance, rolling grandly along—a noble river, neither obstructed by islands nor deformed with rocks and stones. Its width varied from one to three miles; the country on each side was very flat, and a few mean, dirty-looking villages were scattered on the water's edge. We then came to two small islands; the land appeared more elevated, and in some few places it rose in gentle hills. We observed three remarkable and lofty hills on the eastern side, which rose very abruptly from the plain, and were separated from each other only by a few yards of ground. Both banks of the river were overhung with large shady trees, between which we could perceive the land behind to be open and well cultivated; and, if we may be allowed to form an opinion from the number of towns and villages which were scattered over the country, we should conceive it to be thickly inhabited also.'—Vol. II. p. 43.

October 5th:

'Just below the town of *Bajiebo*, the Niger spreads itself into two noble branches, of nearly equal width, formed by an island. We preferred journeying on the eastern branch, but for no particular reason. The country beyond the banks was very fine. The island in the middle of the river is small, but verdant, woody, and handsome; and we passed by the side of it in a very few minutes, with considerable velocity. It was then that both banks presented the most delightful appearance. They were embellished with mighty trees and elegant shrubs, which were clad in thick and luxuriant foliage, some of lively green, and others of darker hues; and little birds were singing merrily among their branches. Magnificent festoons of creeping plants, always green, hung from the tops of the tallest trees, and, drooping to the water's edge, formed immense natural grottoes, pleasing and grateful to the eye, and seemed to be fit abodes for the Naiads of the river.'—Vol. II. p. 46.

Richard Lander some where observes, that African scenery, in its best estate, is not to be compared with that of old Albion; and there is truth as well as simplicity in the remark. It is a magnificent, barbarous profusion, on one hand, while on the other, it is the regular and refined beauty of civilization. There, nature runs wild as the Grecian personification of Dian,—her zone unbound, and her ringlets blown loosely by the gale. Here, she is dressed and decked. There, she speaks to the senses; here, to the soul.

Soon after leaving the coast, our journalists say:

'Between six and seven o'clock, A. M., we continued our route through woods and large open patches of ground, and, at about eleven in the forenoon, arrived at the borders of a deep glen, more wild, romantic and picturesque than can be conceived. It is enclosed and overhung on all sides by trees of amazing height and dimensions, which hide it in deep shadow. Fancy might picture a spot, so silent and solemn as this, as the abode of genii and fairies; every thing conducing to make it grand, melancholy and venerable; and the glen only wants an old dilapidated castle, a rock with a cave in it, or something of the kind, to render it the most interesting place in the universe. There was one beautiful sight, however, which we would not omit mentioning for the world;—it was that of an incredible number of butterflies, fluttering about us like a swarm of bees: they had chosen this, no doubt, as a place of refuge against the fury of the elements. They were variegated by the most brilliant tints and colorings imaginable—the wings of some were of a shining green, edged and sprinkled with gold; others were of sky-blue and silver; others of purple and gold, delightfully blending into each other; and the wings of some were like dark silk velvet, trimmed and braided with lace.'—Vol. I. p. 88.

On the same route, across the country:

'We traversed a rich and varied country, abounding plentifully with wood and water. A fine red sand covered the pathway, which we found to be in much better condition than any we had before seen. Sometimes it wound through an open, level tract of fine grazing land; and then again it diverged through forests so thick and deep that the light of the moon, which had arisen, was unable to penetrate the gloom, and we were frequently left in midnight darkness. It would require greater powers than we are in possession of to give an adequate description of the magnificence, solemnity, and desolate repose of the awful solitudes through which we passed this evening. They were enlightened, however, at times by the appearance of glow-worms, which were so luminous that one could almost see to read by their golden splendor; and sometimes by the moon-beams, which trembled upon the leaves and branches of the trees. A fragrance also was exhaled from the forest, more odoriferous than the perfume of primroses or violets; and one might almost fancy, when threading his way through scenery which perhaps cannot be surpassed for beauty in any part of the world, that he was approaching those eternal shades where in ancient time the souls

of good men were supposed to wander. The woods rang with the song of insects and night-birds, which saluted us, with little intermission, till about ten o'clock at night.'—Vol. I. p. 96.

Again:

'The scenery of to-day has been more interesting and lovely than any we have heretofore beheld. The path circled round a magnificent, cultivated valley, hemmed in almost on every side with mountains of granite of the most grotesque and irregular shapes, the summits of which are covered with stunted trees, and the hollows in their slopes occupied by clusters of huts, whose inmates have fled thither as a place of security against the ravages of the *war-men* that infest the plains. A number of strange birds resort to this valley, many of whose notes were rich, full, and melodious, while others were harsh and disagreeable; but, generally speaking, the plumage was various, splendid, and beautiful. The modest partridge appeared in company with the magnificent Balearic crane, with his regal crest; and delicate humming-birds hopped from twig to twig, with others of an unknown species: some of them were of a dark shining green: some had red silky wings and purple bodies: some were variegated with stripes of crimson and gold; and these chirped and warbled from among the thick foliage of the trees.'—Vol. I. p. 130.

Some of these extracts convey a pretty good idea of the soil, climate, productions and population, as well as scenery, of the regions referred to. The former, however, are much more uniform than the latter, from the obvious circumstance, that many of those lands and locations which were most suitable for agricultural and mercantile purposes, for the very same reasons made the least or the worst possible appearance. The inhabitants raise immense quantities of rice, particularly upon tracts suited to that grain. They are also very fond of attending and trafficking at markets and fairs, and the more accessible, therefore, a large town can be made to a log-canoe, the more popular and profitable to all concerned is the rendezvous. Richard Lander observes, in one or two cases, without going into minutiæ, that he 'presumes' the inhabitants understand their own policy in this matter, though he does not seem to have valued it very highly himself.

We have named some of the productions common to the entire length of the route,—rice, cotton, indigo, and corn. The latter grows in great abundance, sometimes to the height of ten or twelve feet; and if the account given of the cultivation

between Boossà and Yàoorie applies generally, it at least indicates that the natives appreciate the worth of the article. On the banks of all the numerous branches of the river, and on all the islands, we are told that 'vast quantities of corn were growing,' which, it being near harvest-time, was nearly ripe, and waved over the water's edge very prettily. Platforms,—closely resembling a gallows, we infer from the engraving,—are every where built in these fields, so as to overlook the grain; and here boys, girls, and now and then a woman with a child at her breast, or even a whole family, station themselves by the day together, in the blaze of a fierce sunshine, for the commendable purpose of acting as scare-crows. Some are content to stand stock-still for hours, looking like statues of ebony. Others amused themselves by plaiting straw or weaving mats, rather to the detriment of the corn, and the gratification, no doubt, of the adversary. A third and probably younger class magnified their office by the free use of slings and stones; beside which, 'pieces of rope were fastened from the platform to a tree at some distance, to which large calabashes were suspended, with holes in them through which sticks were passed [or a handful of pebbles thrown in,] so that when the rope is pulled they make a loud clattering noise.' The Yankees, when *they* mount the Niger, will certainly find a market for the well-known apparatus which they use in much the same manner for the same purpose. Theirs has indeed the advantage of auto-motion, or of being moveable by a light breeze, as well as of glittering in addition to clattering; but the African watchers, on the other hand, yell and howl in a manner dismal enough to frighten an evil spirit, (says Mr. Lander,)—which is no doubt a most desirable improvement to be introduced in these parts, if we had leisure, and liked sunshine. The African corn is so much stouter than ours, that a field of it is a sort of forest for the small game, and this makes them the more troublesome. Our travellers in one instance lament, that the ducks they had been in the habit of shooting for daily food, as they floated down the stream, had utterly balked their benevolent exertions to that end, by shrewdly availing themselves of a rampart of corn-stalks, behind which, like the gallant defenders of New Orleans, they could reconnoitre the enemy's movements with impunity.

Plantains, bananas, yams, beans, and other roots and fruits are exceedingly abundant over almost the whole region of the

Niger; and these alone, without either the game, grain, or fish, which in most places may be as easily obtained with scarcely an effort, would be sufficient to support an immense population. Nor is there a country on earth better adapted to the raising of all kinds of domestic animals. Very generally indeed they *are* raised,—bullocks, mules, sheep, goats and poultry,—in vast numbers. In some districts they have no horses, and have hardly heard of such an animal; but in others they carry the pride and perfection of the breed as far as their more civilized acquaintance. Two or three extracts will confirm some of these statements.

'Rabba [on the Niger, in the latitude of Sierra Leone, 9° N.] is famous for milk, oil, and honey. The market, when our messengers were there, appeared to be well supplied with bullocks, horses, mules, asses, sheep, goats, and abundance of poultry. Rice and various sorts of corn, cotton, cloth, indigo, saddles and bridles made of red and yellow leather, besides shoes, boots, and sandals, were offered for sale in great plenty. Although they observed about two hundred slaves for sale, none had been disposed of when they left the market in the evening. The inhabitants grow abundance of corn and rice, and other productions common to the neighboring countries, and they cultivate the plantain shrub with success. They possess large flocks and herds of the finest description, and their horned cattle are remarkable for their size and beauty. They have also a prodigious number of excellent horses, of which they take the greatest care, and they are universally admired for their strength and elegant proportions.'—Vol. II. p. 82.

Not very far from the mouth of the river, where the inundation chiefly occurred, the following passage appears in the Journal of November 12th.

'We passed the day in much the same manner as yesterday, stopping occasionally at certain villages which are scattered along the banks, for the purpose of bartering with their inhabitants. Plantains, bananas, and yams are cultivated by them to an extraordinary and almost incredible extent, and for the space of nearly twenty miles scarcely any thing else but plantations of these shrubs and vegetables are to be seen. This circumstance has led us to infer that the country is infinitely more populous than its general appearance would seem to indicate. It is flat, open, varied, and beautiful in many places, and its soil is a rich dark mould or loam.'—Vol. II. p. 246.

To show that this description does not apply to the banks of the Niger alone, we shall add a few sketches of the preliminary route from the coast to the river, a distance of several hundred miles, over hills, mountains, forests and plains, which occupied between two and three months. The starting-point was Badágry, a small native kingdom in the British interest, on the northern coast of the Gulf of Guinea, in the same latitude with Liberia, the colony of the American Colonization Society, and not very remote from it. Here, we are told,

'Oranges, limes, cocoa-nuts, plantains, and bananas are produced in abundance in the neighborhood. The better sort of people are possessed of a small kind of bullock, with sheep, goats, and poultry; the chief himself is a drover and butcher, and when in want of money he orders one of his bullocks to be slaughtered and publicly sold in the market. The dwellings of the inhabitants are neatly constructed of bamboo, and thatched with palm leaves. They contain several apartments, all of them on the ground-floor. Some of the houses or huts are built in the *coozie* form, which is nearly round, and others are in the form of an oblong square: all have excellent yards attached to them, wherein lime-trees and others are planted in rows, and it gives one pleasure to look at the cleanliness and taste which prevail in these courts. The land is excessively fertile; and if the natives could only be induced to lay aside their habitual indolence, and the sluggishness of their characters, and devote a little more attention to the improvement of the soil, the country might soon be brought to an extraordinary pitch of beauty and perfection. As it is, vegetation springs forth spontaneously, is luxuriant even to rankness, and is ever pleasingly verdant.'—Vol. I. p. 76.

A fortnight after leaving this place for the interior, and a little beyond the great market-town, Egga, the travellers say,

'We found the path in much better condition than those behind it, and it lay almost entirely through plantations of yams, calavances, and pumpkins, and three or four different varieties of corn, which a number of laborers were employed in weeding, &c. The hoe is the only implement of husbandry in use, and indeed they can well dispense with every other, because the soil during the rainy months is so soft and light that but very little manual exertion in working it is required.'—Vol. I. p. 121.

Next comes Dufo, April 26th:

'The inhabitants appear to be industrious and very opulent,

as far as regards the number and variety of their domestic animals, having abundance of sheep, goats, swine, pigeons, and poultry; among the latter of which we observed, for the first time, turkeys and Guinea fowl. They have likewise horses and bullocks.'—Vol. I. p. 133.

Then, under date of May 10th:

'Leoguadda is almost surrounded by rugged hills, formed by loose blocks of granite; these, added to a quantity of tall trees, always green, and growing within the walls, render the town inconceivably pleasant and romantic. Immense tracts of land are cultivated in the vicinity of the town, with corn, yams, &c.; and abundance of swine, poultry, goats, and sheep are bred by its inhabitants.'—Vol. I. pp. 158, 159.

The palm-tree is too well known to require description. As Lander some where remarks, it seems peculiarly intended by Providence for the untutored and destitute savage. It affords him a pleasant drink, and indeed the common and favorite drink, especially along the coast. The wine, as the juice is called, is obtained precisely as the juice of the maple is in this country for a different purpose. A hole is bored in the trunk of a tree, a spout made of a leaf inserted, and through this the liquor flows into a calabash beneath, which, holding two or three gallons, will probably be filled during the day. It soon assumes a milky appearance, and is generally used in that state; if kept longer, it acquires rather a bitter flavor. The palm-tree also affords a valuable oil, of which immense quantities have been heretofore taken off by foreigners, particularly by Liverpool traders, from the coast and the lower part of the Niger and other rivers. The palm-wood is an excellent material in building the simple dwellings of the natives.

This tree becomes scarce as you advance into the interior, but from the Journal, as well as from Park and Caillié, we learn that its place is well supplied with the *mi-cadania*, or butter-tree, which yields a very savory and nutritious kind of vegetable marrow. The tree is said to resemble the oak. The nut is enveloped in an agreeable pulpy substance, and the kernel is about as large as our chestnut. This is exposed in the sun to dry, after which it is pounded very fine and boiled: the oily particles float; and when cool, they are skimmed off, and made into little cakes fit for immediate use.

Not to pursue the catalogue further, it would really appear

that no country is furnished with greater capacities than the whole of Western Africa, on the banks and in the latitude of the Niger and its vast and various branches, for supporting a prodigious population. Already indeed the soil swarms with human inhabitants, in scarcely a less proportion than the streams with fish, or the forests with game. Immensely large, though not indeed elegant cities, are more frequent than, without so good evidence as we have, could possibly have been believed. Marts, fairs, festivals, and even *horse-races*, (and a most amusing picture is given in the Journal of *one* at Boossà) attended, some of them, by thousands of people, from all quarters, occur regularly, the year round; for no people on earth are more addicted to society, sport, bustle, or traffic.

Considering the abundant means of subsistence, this trading propensity is the only principle upon which we know how to explain a habit the good people in many parts of the country have of exposing for sale, and we presume selling and consuming, all manner of crawling and creeping things for food. Goat's-flesh and goora-nuts may pass muster well enough; but we should distinctly demur to several other matters which seem to be staples in the African market. In the district of Katunga, for instance, (on the inland route,) where open markets are said to be held daily, and are very largely attended twice a week, provisions were offered for sale in abundance; and besides beef and mutton, 'which were made up into little round balls, weighing about an ounce and three quarters, and presenting not the most tempting appearance, we observed an immense quantity of rats, mice and lizards, dressed and undressed, all having their skins on, and arranged in rows.' What idea our good friends would convey by 'dressed and undressed, with their skins on,'—a fashion of dishabille not generally ratified, we apprehend, among the community referred to,—it is not indispensable to determine. But, what is worse still, though the stalls of the celebrated city of Bòhoo, (on the same route,) are well supplied with provisions, they are so exceedingly dear, for some unknown reason, that 'with the exception of disgusting insects, reptiles and vermin, the lower classes of the people are almost unacquainted' with the taste of fresh meat. If this diet *could* be made acceptable to foreigners, there would certainly be one convenience in it, independently of gratifying the eye and the palate,—that

of being plentiful and always at hand; for the travellers could hardly accommodate themselves with never so short a *siesta* in an African hut, or a nap under the green trees, but they would either wake or dream, presently, with the pleasurable sensation of a scorpion or a lizard leisurely dragging its slow length over the nostrils. Again ;—on the lower Niger they eat the solid fat of the hippopotamus, no small mass of which was once sent to our travellers as a special dainty. Fish and yams also were brought on, swimming in oil, the commonest kind used in the lamps of warehouses in England, and of course having an exceedingly ancient as well as fish-like odor. The English civilly declined this delicacy; but Gun [*alias*, King Boy,] was of a different opinion, and, 'declaring it to be the best Liverpool beef that he had seen for a long time, he soon made away with it.' Finally, the savages of Fernando Po island eat monkeys. This is a species of taxation hardly to be tolerated by so intelligent a class of denizens; and we apprehend that, by and by, endurance will be thought no longer a virtue,—especially as the human party seems to be rather the less intelligent if not numerous of the two.

Hyænas and crocodiles appear to be an aristocracy in this part of the world; for the natives, instead of eating them or either of them, or even hanging them up, 'dressed and undressed, with their skins on,' in the stalls, treat them, as well as themselves, with rats. A family which entertained the travellers on the inland route had hospitably kept a crocodile in a sort of pig-pen seven years, upon rations of five rats a day; and the boys valued him so highly, that as the greatest courtesy they could show Mr. Lander, they offered to run down behind the hut and catch him half a dozen young crocodiles of the first water. He was under the disagreeable necessity of declining the favor, not having vehicles to accommodate so large a party. A few other incidents, which occurred about the same time, go to explain the singular dearness of the better kinds of animal food. The people were particularly fond and proud of their swine, sheep and poultry, so that they very generally ate, drank, and slept in common with them; and the pampered animals, having their manners ruined by flattery, insolently nosed the travellers about in all directions, hundreds together. In one case, though the country was covered with them, not a morsel of that excellent food they are in duty

bound to furnish, could be obtained, for love or money. In another, the inhabitants, understanding that Englishmen were much given to devour chickens, and that, 'dead or alive, they would have some,' if they could, forthwith hastened to secure and confine the whole feathered community, the moment the travellers entered the village. The latter would have been chicken-hearted, truly, to resent a merely defensive movement; and they, therefore, with the philosophy which does so much credit to their countrymen in all situations, invariably contented themselves with wild game, yams, new milk, goats-meat, eggs, cocoa-nuts, and small beer.

There can be no better illustration than the territory of the Niger furnishes, of the extraordinary influence which soil, climate, and other external circumstances have, sooner or later, upon the social and civil character of a people. These Africans have had, most of them, no intercourse with civilized nations, and none of them so much as almost all our American Indians. If not greatly inferior, they are not superior to that race in native intellect; and as to their habits of thinking, it is universally characteristic of them that they act altogether from impulse, whereas the Indian is quite as remarkable for acting altogether from principle. But, setting aside the original differences of genius, and the original causes of them, whatever they may be, what a contrast is there in location and the immediate effects of location, between the two! In many respects, indeed, the same causes have led to the same customs. The African cowrie is almost identical, as a *coin*, with the Indian wampum. The medical art of both consists alike of roots, bathing, blistering, and charms. The extreme ignorance and credulity of both are equally imposed on by the mallam and the powah, with all their varieties of grimace, disguise, feigned madness, real impudence, and legerdemain. Both paint, sacrifice, build and use canoes, torture, feast, fast, keep themselves sober when compelled, and get drunk when they can. But in almost all those matters which indicate the gradual advance from perfect savagery to barbarism, and from barbarism to civilization, the talkative, thoughtless, yam-eating, sanguine Africans have exceedingly the vantage-ground of our intelligent and independent fellow-countrymen in the backwoods, with all their demureness, dignity and deliberation.

The latter, until after a long intercourse with foreigners, knew little or nothing of the useful metals; using clam-shells

for knives, bark for baskets, stone for weapons; and even fitting the slow-wrought tomahawk with its handle by hanging it upon the green branch, and waiting for a growth sufficient for the aperture, at the very time when they were trampling under foot the scarce covered iron of Pennsylvania and the gold of Carolina. They had and still have, with few exceptions, no domestic animals but the dog. They wore skins and furs for clothing; and went but half clad at the best, under one of the severest climates on earth. North of Mexico they had no cities,—no towns north of the Cherokees,—no markets, no schools, no division of labor, no diversity of ranks but such as the most radical democracy chose to create, and mainly no arts but those absolutely indispensable to subsistence and simple attack and defence.

We look for the explanation of these things in a stern sky and a sterile soil. The earth produces but little spontaneously, and pays but a small bounty on a difficult and tedious cultivation. The savage, therefore, always indolent, leaves the drudgery of his pitiful agriculture to women, and lives by fishing and hunting, which have at least the charm of adventure. But, to subsist thus, he must have a broad range of woods and waters, especially where the game is very wild and rather sparse. Population is scattered, perhaps in the ratio of an individual to a square mile. Society is broken up. Tribes must be small. Each, in his solitude, must be independent of every other: and after all, such circumstances will not only soon give him a sullen, suspicious, selfish character, but will really leave him very little leisure, and less inducement to use the little he has to any considerable purpose. As to arts, his skins and furs are the best as well as cheapest clothing in his climate; and for other luxuries, what time has he to conceive or contrive them, and what inducement to do so if he could? He builds, hunts, eats, fights, and sleeps: he has followed his instincts and gratified his appetites; no man has heard him complain, or seen him weep or wince under suffering; and this is enough,—'it is good,'—he dies, and is forgotten.

The African is not so satisfied, and has reason not to be so. The earth, air, sea, streams, and woods, around and beneath, pour out to him an easy and healthy subsistence at his very door. He needs little or no vesture or shelter. Of course, he has leisure enough to desire more just in proportion as he demands less. Good living and good health, and genial skies,

stimulate the animal spirits ; and a crowded population, in the same circumstances and with the same sanguine and sociable disposition as himself, furnishes all the opportunity of excitement which his passions and whims may suggest. Restlessness, avarice, ambition, vanity, natural affection, affability, all spring up, and must be gratified. People throng together in towns and cities, and at fairs and festivals in the country. Distinctions of rank arise from distinctions of wealth. The arts are encouraged by all these circumstances together, and by the liveliness to which they all rouse the faculties of invention. The African has no wants to think of, and he imagines as many as possible. He dresses, dances, sings, sports an elegant canoe, prides himself on his horse, goes to market twice a week, drinks too much palm-wine as often, lies down to sleep in the shade, and wakes to follow the same routine of noise, novelty and nonsense, from his cradle to his grave.

Some of the extracts already given from the Journal indicate the extent to which the Niger tribes have carried agriculture, and various mechanic arts. Their canoes in some parts of the country are large, elegant and commodious ; and though made of a single tree, built up with sides of plank, sheds are raised in them, with circular roofs, in which fires are kindled, food prepared, and men, women and children and all manner of domestic animals accommodated,—very much, we suppose, as they once were in the Kentucky arks,—so that 'merchants are enabled to travel, with their wives and household, several days up and down the Niger,' without landing. Iron staples supply the office of pitch, hemp and tar.—Rabba is famous for very beautiful mats and sandals. Other articles are supplied by their neighbors of Zagōzhi, an account of whom will serve to illustrate the general advance of civilization.

'The cloth which they manufacture in common with their countrymen, and the tobes and trousers which they make, are most excellent, and would not disgrace an European manufactory : they are worn and valued by kings, chiefs, and great men, and are the admiration of the neighboring nations, which vainly attempt to imitate them. We have also seen a variety of caps, which are worn solely by females, and made of cotton, interwoven with silk, of the most exquisite workmanship. The people here are uncommonly industrious, be they males or females, and always busy, either in culinary or other domestic occupations.

In our walks we see groups of people employed in spinning

cotton and silk; others in making wooden bowls and dishes, mats of various patterns, shoes, sandals, cotton dresses and caps, and the like; others busily occupied in fashioning brass and iron stirrups, bits for bridles, hoes, chains, fetters, &c.; and others again employed in making saddles and horse accoutrements. These various articles, which are intended for the Rabba market, evince considerable taste and ingenuity in their execution.'—Vol. II. pp. 84, 85.

Even the fine arts are not neglected, and least of all dancing and singing. At Layaba, a little below Boossà,

'In the evening, the inhabitants of the town assembled outside our house, to amuse themselves by dancing and singing in the moonlight; for, notwithstanding all their misfortunes and oppressions, they never refrain from indulging with all their hearts in these sprightly and thoughtless entertainments. Every dancer held in each hand a cow's tail; they were all dressed grotesquely, and a great quantity of strings of cowries encircled their legs and bodies, which made a loud rattling noise by the violence and celerity of their movements. They sang as they danced, and excited, by the oddity of their gestures, loud clappings of applause, and bursts of laughter from all the bystanders. The spectacle was exceedingly ludicrous: we have rarely witnessed so much jocularity and thoughtless gayety; and we have seldom laughed so much at any native exhibition. Though the performers panted from want of breath with their exertions, they yet continued their darling exercises, as is usual with them, till long after midnight.' —Vol. II. pp. 39, 40.

This accomplishment is patronized by all classes and ages. The old chief of Egga is an example of one extreme, and the Kakafungi boys of the other.

'The old man advanced proudly into the ring, with a firm step and a smiling countenance, and casting upon us a glance full of meaning, as if he would have said, "Now, white men, look at me, and you will be filled with admiration and wonder,"—

"He frisked beneath the burden of *five*-score;"

and, shaking his hoary locks, capered over the ground to the manifest delight of the bystanders, whose applauses, though confined, as they always are, to laughter, yet tickled the old man's fancy to that degree, that he was unable to keep up his dance any longer without the aid of a crutch. With its assistance he hobbled on a little while; but his strength failed him, and he was

constrained for the time to give over, and he sat himself down at our side on the threshold of the hut. He would not acknowledge his weakness to us for the world, but endeavored to pant silently, and suppress loud breathings, that we might not hear him.'—Vol. II. p. 115.

'Late in the evening, when our people were asleep, the sound of singing tempted my brother to go out alone, and he soon discovered a little group of thoughtless, happy creatures, amusing themselves by dancing in the moonlight to the sound of a large drum. He described their dance as being very different from that practised in Yarriba; their motions being sometimes swift and violent, and sometimes slow and graceful; their gestures expressive of mild delight rather than vehement passion, and remarkable for propriety. They appeared to be singing something very comic in recitative, and kept time by clapping their hands. My brother's intrusion was of no importance to them, for the party still kept up their dance with as much spirit and good-humor as before.'—Vol. I. p. 225.

The natives have a peculiar taste for instrumental music, if music indeed it be; and no public occasion can be suffered to pass off without as much noise as some ten or twenty lusty fellows can possibly make upon all manner of horns, drums, fifes, bells and clarionets. At Wow,

'Two of the principal persons came out to meet us, preceded by men bearing large silk umbrellas, and another playing a horn, which produced such terrible sounds, that we gladly took refuge, as soon as we could, in the chief's house.'—Vol. I. p. 85.

One potentate condescended to take lessons from John Lander, on the English jews-harp; but, although he spent a whole evening in his awkward attempts, and a ring of his admiring countrymen encouraged every appearance of success with prodigious shouts of applause, the undue size of his majesty's mouth, and the length of his teeth, proved to be obstacles which no ambition could surmount. He wheezed away several hours to no purpose, and abandoned the undertaking. At Katunga, the chief enlivened the *paláver* by employing a stout fellow to whistle; and when he sent out an escort to meet the travellers, Richard Lander says,

'I sounded my bugle, at which the natives were astonished and pleased; but a black trumpeter, jealous of the performance, challenged a contest for the superiority of the respective instru-

ments, which terminated in the entire defeat of the African, who was hooted and laughed at by his companions for his presumption, and gave up the trial in despair. He hung down his head, remained silent, looked extremely silly, and did not venture to put his horn to his mouth again till he imagined his companions had either overlooked, or in some measure forgotten his defeat. Among the instruments used on this memorable occasion was a piece of iron, in shape exactly resembling the bottom of a parlor fire-shovel. It was played on by a thick piece of wood, and produced sounds infinitely less harmonious than "marrow-bones and cleavers."'—Vol. I. p. 162.

In regard to education, it must be admitted that the Africans can boast of little superiority over the Indians. The only thing among them purporting to be a school, so far as we can learn, is attributable to the Mahommedan Mallam; and the entire process, from beginning to end, is only a repetition of prayers, which, however, seem to imply reading, writing and spelling. In this vocation they are truly zealous. The children of the respectable class at Egga, for example, are placed, at a very early age, under the schoolmaster's charge. For several years, they rise every morning between midnight and sunrise, and are studiously employed in copying the prayers by lamp-light, after which they read them to the master successively, commencing with the eldest. The Mahommedans, who constitute a considerable part of the population almost universally, are exceedingly vain of their literary accomplishments, and those of their children, and not unfrequently witness, with great satisfaction, the displays which the latter make of their progress. The general criterion of excellence appears to be in the lungs and larynx; that youth being considered the most promising, and caressed accordingly, who, in reading, can make his shrill bawling cadences heard to the greatest distance in the open air. To this discipline, probably, is owing the extreme vociferousness of the adults, which astounded the Landers so often, and which was so valuable to the proprietors in supplying the office of a speaking-trumpet on the water, and a fish-horn upon land.

The African governments much resemble those of the ancient Virginian Indians, being less democratic than those of our more northern tribes, and less permanent than the Mexican. Generally, the power is hereditary; but the ruling chief is not, by that custom, prevented either from electing one of his family to

succeed him, or from abdicating his authority whenever he sees fit. He has many privileges and perquisites of station, including horses, a body-guard, a band of musicians, a bigger hut, more cows' tails and other paraphernalia, more wine and more beer than any of his subjects; besides which, he exercises as much despotism, with as much impunity, in legislation and the administration of justice, as leaders chosen or tolerated by democracies generally do in other parts of the world.

The old historian, Beverly, says, that a Virginian sachem, at a solemn conference with the English, being *interrupted* in his speech by one of his own subjects who unfortunately forgot custom in a fit of anger, instantly cleaved the offender's head in twain with his hatchet, and then, deliberately wiping the blood from the edge of it, returned the weapon to his girdle, and gravely proceeded with his speech. Even our northern chiefs assumed both judicial and executive powers with as little hesitation. King Philip shot down a man who proposed peace with the English. Tecumseh, whose manners were far from ferocious, being insulted at Vincennes, by a deaf Pottawatamie called the Dead Chief, took no notice of him at the time, nor even looked in his face; but, after finishing a conversation with a white man, gave orders to his satellites which saved all further trouble,—the Dead Chief being never afterwards heard of.

So that famous Seneca, the Little Farmer, meeting, during the last war, in the streets of Buffalo, in a spy's disguise, one of the tribe who had been living in Canada, ordered his attendants to kill him on the spot. They refused, and murmured loudly against the command. Fire flashed in the eye of the old warrior. 'I am ashamed,' said he, 'I am ashamed that a Seneca will refuse to do justice. I will show you who the chief is.' He addressed the spy, and bade him prepare for death. The poor fellow knew him but too well. He drew his blanket over his head, with an Indian's dogged resignation, and sat down. The Farmer brained him at the same moment.*

Just such is the African manner of doing business. Our travellers often complained to the chiefs of the intolerable curiosity of the people, who thronged about their miserable little lodging-places, night and day, whenever they undertook

* We have this anecdote from a gentleman well acquainted with the Senecas during the last twenty years.

to sit or sleep, till they were scarcely able to breathe. 'Cut their heads off,' said the chiefs, and the influence of the Englishmen was sometimes necessary to prevent the adoption of that summary course. Their priests and other favorites take the same liberties. At Ephraim-town, the village-doctor was tied neck and heels with one of the Duke's wives, and thrown into the river, as a punishment for making more visits to the lady his patient than was thought politic by his Grace. In another case, a boy was sentenced to death for stealing a bit of Manchester cotton from his sovereign; and at the same village the travellers were relieved from too much society by a guard of stout cudgellers, who laid about among the visiters in a manner which soon left little to be desired.

This union of despotism and democracy, the extremes of which always meet, is a principal cause of the *slavery* which is another universal characteristic of the African policy, more peculiar to themselves than any yet mentioned. Messengers sent to collect tribute or taxes, in default of payment seize upon any stragglers from the community in debt, for slaves, with as little ceremony as a Yankee constable escorts a rioter to the penitentiary. Hard labor out of prison is more obvious than hard labor within; and all culprits, therefore, who are not executed, become vassals, or villeins, much after the old fashion of England.—This class includes a large number of sorcerers, wizards and witches, who at other times are dealt with according to the civilized code in such cases provided. Still another source of slavery is war, whereby, population being abundant, and warlike arts and arms quite harmless, many more prisoners are taken than drops of blood shed; and these too must be disposed of in the cheapest and safest way. Hundreds are sometimes enslaved thus at one time, though an instance is alluded to in the Journal, wherein a violent contest of seven years, between two rival potentates, resulted in no other loss on either side than the capture of one old woman. The slaves are generally well treated, the most unfortunate being those miserable wretches who are conveyed down the river for the supply of the trade on the coast. Occasionally, they constitute as much the larger part of the whole population, as in ancient Athens, or in some of the West Indies at this day; in one kingdom, no less than four-fifths.

On the whole, the Africans of the Niger are certainly much above absolute barbarism; and yet, in many points wherein,

according to our theory, their external advantages have not operated equally in their favor, they are degraded proportionally beneath even those whom they otherwise excel. Their dwellings are generally almost unfit for the swine and vermin who hold them in joint-tenancy with themselves. Sacrifices, tortures, the dooming of widows, polytheism and polygamy are more or less in vogue. The people are ferocious in some parts, filthy in others, and extremely simple, credulous and superstitious in all. In array and revenue alone, the rulers have an advantage over the Indian chiefs; in personal dignity and domestic comfort they are not to be compared. An English shed is a palace, in contrast with their best houses; and, indeed, the travellers thought most of them much less tolerable than an indifferent 'pig-sty.' One of the best was precisely in the shape of the roof of a barn inverted, with only a hole through the inward apex for the emission or admission of smoke, light, rain, air and scorpions. Leaving various other minutiæ to the reader's imagination, we may say of the African *cities* that their size is their chief recommendation, and confirm the remark by extracting our travellers' sketches of Bajiebo and Zagōzhi. Both are situated on the Niger.—The former being one of the most populous marts on its whole length, we allow it the precedence in description.

'For dirt, bustle and nastiness of all kinds, this place, we think, can scarcely be exceeded. For two hours after our arrival we were obliged to wait in a close and diminutive hut, till a more convenient and becoming habitation could be procured for our reception, and the pleasure of the chief with regard to us should be known. Here we were visited by a number of the inhabitants, consisting both of Falátahs and Noufanchie (Nouffie people). Among the former was a sagacious and intelligent old man, who has travelled a long, long way on the Niger, even beyond Timbuctoo; and he states, that that town is several miles from the banks of the river. We were sadly incommoded by these visiters, who scarcely allowed us to move or breathe; which, joined to the heat of the weather and the insufferable stench, rendered our situation truly comfortless and distressing.

'We were at length removed from this horrible hole, and conducted to a hut in the heart of the town, in which wood fires had been burning the whole of the day, so that the wall was almost as warm as the sides of a heated oven, insomuch that it could hardly be endured. Yet, to render it more unpleasant still, a large, closely-woven mat was placed before the door-way, in

order to prevent a thousand eyes from staring in upon us: this excluded every breath of air.'—Vol. II. pp. 43, 44.

As for Zagōzhi,

'The town is built on a bog, for such it appears to us, and it lies so close to the water, that in fact hundreds of huts are literally standing in it. So little regard do the people appear to have for what is termed comfort, that they suffer the walls of their dwellings either to fall to pieces, or permit large chinks and holes to remain in them, which freely admit the wind and rain; while the floors, which are made of earth or clay, are so soft and damp, that a slender stick may easily be thrust into them by the hand to any depth.'—Vol. II. p. 83.

We cannot dismiss these exceedingly entertaining volumes, without a passing acknowledgment of that noble liberality which, for the last half century in particular, has distinguished the British Government, and not less the Association for promoting African discovery, in their movements upon that continent. Some of them indeed have been attended with deplorable calamity, and many have ended in disappointment; but the more honor, for these very reasons, belongs to the perseverance which has at length triumphed over all obstacles. Hereafter, the Niger will be as accessible a haunt of the steam-boat, as the Missouri has just been shown to be to the mouth of the Yellow Stone; and for some time to come, accessible to a much better purpose. An immense trade will be carried on with the Africans, opening a new and vast avenue for foreign manufactures and foreign navigation. Such, at least, should be the ultimate result; for where is there, on earth, a people more easily to be civilized, or a country filled with such inexhaustible materials for industry, wealth and commerce? The slave-trade, indeed, must be swept from the coast, before many advances can be made. But what surer mode can be adopted for that end, than to seal those prolific sources of the curse which exist in the indolence and ignorance of the abused natives, and to fortify them in better habits by the protection and the interest of a legitimate traffic? Certain it is, under present circumstances, that no more promising system is likely to be set in motion; and certain it also is, that the evil in question never was more flagrant than it has been during the last fifteen years. Something has been done; enough indeed by the Liberian Colony alone, to indicate the true course to be pursued. But na-

tional legislation, and a few cruisers and prize-courts of limited jurisdiction, are not destined to accomplish the object. Nothing short, we conceive, of such a final civilization as will make agriculture and honest trade more honorable and profitable in the eyes of the natives than the traffic in slaves, and nothing less than an actual occupation of the exposed coast meanwhile, can be reasonably expected to rescue this rich and fair region from the ferocious iniquity which has been so many ages gloating over its barbarism, and gorging itself with its blood.

ART. V. *American Forest Trees.*
Sylva Americana. By D. J. BROWNE. Boston. 1831.

The word *Sylva* can never be pronounced, without recalling the memory of Evelyn, who, retired and unambitious as he was, has long been numbered among the benefactors of mankind. It was no small service, to recommend the cultivation of ornamental trees, as a happy and elevating employment for men of leisure and fortune. Many a desolate village has been covered with beauty, and many a fiery street of the city shaded, in consequence of the enthusiasm inspired by his memory and example. Much too has been added to the glory of the visible world and the sources of philosophical contemplation, by taking these lords of the forest from their retirement, and placing them before the eye: for what nobler object can there be, than a tree which has battled with the storms of ages, and still calmly waves from it the assault of the mightiest gales, standing in lofty independence, and throwing wide its protecting arms, as if it were offering shelter and shade to generations yet to come? It is true there are many, to whom they would have little value, if regarded merely as materials and suggestions of thought; but there are none, to whom their usefulness does not make them important. Man must resort to them to build and furnish his dwelling, and then solicit their friendly shield to defend him from the summer sun. In winter, he must resort to them again; and they are ready to cast away their verdure 'to let in the sun,—and to light up his dwelling with their cheerful fires;' like feudal vassals, willing either to live or die in the service of their chief. Even nations also

are compelled to lean their mighty arms for support upon the neglected trees of the wood; the oaks which Evelyn planted, aided to bear the thunder of England in the bright chain of victories which ended at Trafalgar. It is consoling to think how much can be done by men in private stations for the benefit of their country and mankind. They are apt to feel as if their power was too limited to carry any responsibility with it; as if their voice died away upon the air when they spoke, and they could give no impulse beyond the reach of their arm; and yet here is an example of a man of private station and moderate fortune, who lived two centuries ago, and who is still successfully exhorting men to make themselves useful and happy in the way which he recommends, so that his advice and example are still forming characters, inspiring labors, and securing services to mankind which would otherwise be wholly lost. We should be glad to know the name of the statesman of that age, of any party, Cromwell or Clarendon, whose influence is thus felt at the present day, either in the world at large, in his own country, or in any human breast.

In this country, the example of Evelyn is likely to do more in future than in his own, unless some great change takes place in the internal condition of England. We are told that ten years ago there were but twenty thousand landholders in England, setting aside the Clergy and Corporations. The mere tenants at will have no interest or ambition to plant trees, without the hope that their descendants will sit under the shade; or rather, the reflection that they have no spot of ground which they can call their own, prevents their taking an interest in any kind of improvement. In this country the state of society is as different as possible: there are hardly twenty thousand in any territory of equal extent with England, who are not proprietors of land, or freeholders. There the nobility and gentry, if they chance to be men of taste, are too much engrossed with politics, or the pleasures of the capital, to find much gratification in pursuits of this kind; there are some who set a worthy example, but there cannot be many to follow it. The success of Sir Henry Stuart, in Scotland, who converted a barren heath into a noble forest, might strike the imagination of thousands; but the great proportion of those who would be most desirous to imitate him, would probably be those who were not proprietors of land sufficient for a grave. Owing

to our different circumstances, we are confident that such writers will do more for this country than their own. Our climate is more favorable to this kind of vegetation; we need it to generate and preserve moisture, and to shelter us from our summer suns, which burn with fiercer heat; we have more room to allow them, and our forests are so crowded, that there is less temptation to hew it down for the fires. But all such considerations are less effectual, than the pride which every man feels in his own paternal acre. Even if he have but one, he desires to have it such as to attract the passing stranger's eye, and to bear a comparison with the estate of his richer neighbor in taste and beauty.

We speak of the natural tendency to improvement; we do not mean to say that this taste is by any means universal, even in this portion of our land. The suggestion of Cicero, that every man thinks he can live a year, is true here as well as elsewhere. He is therefore willing to plant his field or garden, from which he can reap the fruit, while he feels less inducement to plant trees which he may never live to enjoy. We have inherited little taste of this kind from our fathers. Besides that their whole life was a warfare with the forest, and that land was not considered cleared till it was bare as the sea-shore, it was evidently no particular object for them to cultivate trees near their mansions, as a convenient stalking-horse for the Indian marksman. Their children, as a matter of course, followed their example, though the necessity for it no longer existed. Even now, the pioneer of civilization begins his improvements, as he calls them, by cutting down every tree within gunshot of his dwelling; and when, at length overpowered by the solicitations of his wife or daughter, he reluctantantly proceeds to plant, the result of his labors appears in a few long leafless poles, standing in solemn uprightness waiting for the miracle of Aaron's rod. But it is sufficiently evident that a better taste is growing among us, owing partly to the exertions of individuals, and partly to the natural tendency of growing prosperity and ambition. Our forests offer us treasures, such as few lands can rival and none can possibly exceed. We are told that in the United States there are one hundred and forty species of forest trees of the larger size, while in France there are but thirty of the same description, of which eighteen enter into the composition of the forests, and seven only are employed in building. The wild splendor of our

woods in autumn, their green lights and shadows in spring, the heavy grandeur of their evergreen masses with the snow above them in winter, or the fine outline of their naked arms against the sky, never fail to strike the most careless observer of nature: interest follows the first emotions of surprise; that interest deepens as he becomes acquainted with the wondrous revelations which science opens in every plant that the earth bears, and his natural impulse is to surround himself with these noble works of heaven. And this is easily accomplished; for though, as Evelyn says, 'the aspen takes it ill to have his head cut off,' this is not the case with most other trees, which submit to the operation with perfect indifference, and even after being mangled in root, branch, leaf and flower, will flourish and reward the hand that transplants them. Or, if his native trees are too common to be beautiful in his eyes, he has only to send to foreign countries, and as there are few trees like the home-sick palm-tree, which 'will not quit its place of birth,' they will come, regardless of the voyage, and grow contentedly in a climate very different from their own. This interest, so easily satisfied, when once awakened is not likely to decline, and this labor is suited to prevail extensively, because, like virtue, it is its own direct, immediate and sufficient reward.

But apart from the interest which an employment of this kind easily and naturally awakens, these objects acquire a strong hold on the affections: man learns to love his contemporary trees. We have often thought that the mysterious feeling awakened in the Swiss soldiers by hearing the Ranz des Vaches, was owing to the distinctness with which the strong features of their native scenery were impressed upon their minds: the frowning rock, the dashing river, the cloudy ridge were clear and visible forms in their memory, and the breath of a song was sufficient to touch the delicate spring, and make the whole vision start up into their souls. In the same way the memory of the absent fastens itself to the tree which shaded his father's door, which still retains all its greenness in his imagination, though the children who once played in careless happiness beneath it have long since been separated, both in place and heart, and the aged man who sat in his arm-chair, looking thoughtfully upon them, has long ago rested in the grave. We may any where observe that natives of places which have any remarkable objects of this kind, feel a stronger local attachment, —more pleasure and pride in their home, and far more interest

in public improvement, than those who have no such landmarks for the memory: for example, the elm on the common of our city, which is said to have been carried there on a man's shoulders in 1721, is now not more deeply covered with foliage than with venerable and pleasing associations.

The fact is that these must be the monuments of our country. Mrs. Trollope, disappointed at not meeting with Parisian manners in our western steam-boats, looked out for baronial castles upon the Alleghany mountains, and was indignant to find that no such vestiges of civilization appeared. Doubtless we should rejoice to have them; but since the privilege is denied us, we do as well as we can without them. But this defect, great and serious as we confess it is, cannot reasonably be charged upon popular institutions; and the pious thankfulness which she expresses at being delivered from republicanism, is like that of a soldier in our late war, who, when shot through his high military cap, remarked that he was devoutly grateful that he had not a low-crowned hat on, as in that case the ball would have gone directly through his head. These things are evidently chargeable to circumstances over which we have no control. And yet had we such ornaments on every height, we fear that too many who regard comfort more than taste would remark, like her countryman at Rome, that 'the ruins were much in need of repair.' But we must endeavor to prepare ourselves against the coming of all future Trollopes, by providing such monuments as our forlorn condition admits,—not such as the elements of nature waste, but such as they strengthen and restore. Almost all other monuments leave us in doubt whether to regard them as memorials of glory, or of shame. The Chinese wall is a monument of the cowardice and weakness of those who raised it: they built walls, because they wanted hearts to defend their country. The Pyramids of Egypt are monuments certainly of the ignorance, and most probably of the superstition of their builders: the cathedrals are monuments of a corrupt religion, and the same baronial castles, the want of which we never deplored till now, are monuments of a state of society in which every thing was barbarous, and are witnesses by their still existing, that the art of war, the only science thought worth regarding, was but wretchedly understood. To us it seems that Chaucer's oak and Shakspeare's mulberry-tree, the oak of Alfred at Oxford, and the one in Torwood forest, under which Wallace first gathered

his followers in arms, are as worthy and enduring memorials of great names and deeds, as any that can be hewn from the rock and built by the hands of men. The tower, as soon as it is completed, begins to decay ; the tree, from the moment when it is planted, grows firmer and stronger for many an age to come.

We are the more earnest to recommend this cultivation to our readers, because in this country it can seldom be more than an incidental employment: there are few so situated as to be able to make it the great business of their lives. We are often told that this was the employment of man in paradise: it was so, but those who say it should remember, that the air of paradise did not prove favorable to moral energy and virtue ; it was made clear, in the case of our first parents, that a state of peaceful enjoyment and unmixed prosperity will never answer for man. He must have labor of body and mind; he must have duties and trials ; he must associate with his fellows, in the race with the swift, and the battle with the strong ; he must have his powers unfolded in the broad sunshine of social life, and his feelings disciplined by those disappointments and sorrows which abound in the places where man contends with man, before he can ever become that useful, happy and glorious being which our religion tends to form. We do not recommend this cultivation, therefore, as an epicurean indulgence, but rather as the employment of hours which would be otherwise lost. When Dumbiedikes charged his son 'to be aye sticking in a tree when ye have naething else to do,' he probably, considering the habits of his son and heir, thought it equivalent to a charge to make it the business of his life. We would give the same advice to our readers, understanding, however, that they have other employments, like Evelyn, who, though in a private station, was one of the most active and useful men of his day.

We would not say that this cultivation is more important than that of fruit trees, but they carry their own recommendation with them : the most unrelenting destroyers of forest trees spare the others, because they can be of service only when living, and are of no value in the market when dead. The virtues of the trees of the forest are not felt by all, though they are open to every eye. The cultivation of fruit trees is left to the care of men, because they have an inducement to engage in it which can be universally understood. Their seeds are generally such as the peach-stone or the apple-seed, which can-

not spread without human care : they are meant to be gathered, and not to vegetate beneath the tree on which they grew ; while the trees of the forest, which would be less likely to find friendly hands to render them this service, are provided for by the parental care of nature ; their seeds are light, easily dislodged from the tree, in some instances provided with wings to bear them away on the winds of heaven, where they can be arrested in their flight, borne down to the earth, and beaten into the ground by the summer shower. The difference in their forms is also well worth observing. The trees which offer their fruits to men are generally low and easily climbed ; they grow with less towering height and less gigantic proportions : while the trees of the forest, which stoop to no burdens, rise and spread, as if glorying in their independence of man. It may generally be observed, also, that the law of compensation prevails in this and all other departments of nature. The flowers of the field are more beautiful than the vegetables of the garden ; and, in like manner, the difference between the trees of the forest and those of the garden is that of sovereigns and slaves. As much interest as could be expected or desired is now taken in the cultivation of fruit trees, and it will soon be well rewarded. Evelyn expressed a wish, that every man might be compelled by law to set out fruit trees on the borders of the public roads, for the benefit of the wayfarers ; but there is much reason to doubt, whether this class of worthies would confine themselves within the limits indicated by the law of Moses, reasonable as it is : ' when thou comest unto thy neighbor's vineyard, thou mayest eat grapes thy fill at pleasure, but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel ; ' or rather, they might be too much taken up with obeying the first of these provisions to pay much attention to the last. We shall be content, therefore, to see the highways fringed with trees which will not lead them into temptation, and will offer a still more abundant shade.

We are glad to see works offered to the public, which call their attention to the subject ; and since the great point is to excite a general interest in it, the author judges well, who calls attention to the whole subject,—to the physiology, as well as cultivation of trees. To study Botany according to the common practice, is an inversion of the order of nature ; some knowledge of the organization of plants is absolutely necessary to prepare the student to pursue the study with interest and

success: and it is well known to those who have paid any attention to the subject, that all the improvements in the practical department, in successful planting and cultivation, have been made by men who were most intimately acquainted with vegetable physiology; who knew the use and importance of the various parts and organs, the nature and effects of soil, climate and season, and various other circumstances which require to be taken into view, but are in general unknown or disregarded. Nothing can be more grotesque and inhuman than the common process of a husbandman in transplanting a tree. His first step is to behead it, which, however intended, is an act of kindness to put it out of its pain: he then deprives it of the organs of respiration, both buds and leaves; and last of all buries the root with as much haste and carelessness as if it were one of the cholera victims. So wonderful an exploit was it considered, to preserve the spark of life in a transplanted tree, that, as some of our readers may remember, a worthy in this region many years ago became celebrated for his powers, being supposed to have some gift of nature, like Sullivan for horse-breaking, or Prince Hohenlohe for healing. Every tree was supposed to gain life and vigor from his touch; and such was the fame of his success, that he was summoned to all parts of the State, to practise in these desperate cases. In the wane of life, when the season of profit was over, he revealed his secret to a friend, and it appeared that his miraculous power in saving trees from death, consisted in rescuing them from the hands of their murderers. He did not suffer the tree to be deprived of its head, so important a part of the system of all living things; he gave a decent burial to the roots, and secured the stem by a stake from being shaken by the winds; but, more than all the rest, he was careful never to undertake the important trust except when the wind was west and the moon was new. We do not consider the astronomical and meteorological part of his prescriptions quite so essential as he did, but we would recommend an acquaintance with vegetable physiology as essential to success. How little this is generally understood, any one may ascertain by a few inquiries of those whose business makes them familiar with the woods. We remember once requesting an individual who had passed his life among trees, to take a basket and gather some of the seeds of the elm, for the purpose of forming a small plantation. He seemed doubtful for some time whether the request was made in

jest or earnest; and at last confessed that he had passed thirty years of his life, without knowing till that moment that the elm had any seed.

Beside the importance of this study just alluded to, it is a delightful one even for those who have no practical acquaintance with trees; it contains some of the most wonderful marks of design and preparation, of Divine creative skill and seemingly intelligent action, where there is no mind within to direct it, which can be found in any part of nature, eloquent and ample as it is in its testimony to Him who made it. We shall not enter into the comparison between the properties of plants and the instinct of animals, our knowledge of both being quite too imperfect; but to us, whether from accidental prejudice or not we cannot say, none of the contrivances of the animal world seem so surprising, as the manner in which vegetables, confined as they are to a single spot, are able to gather food for their subsistence, to protect and restore themselves from injury, to prepare for all the changes of season and climate, and at the same time to exert a constant action for the benefit of man, and in fact of all nature. The root, for example,—nothing can be more surprising than the manner in which it forms itself and spreads, so as to give the tree precisely the support and subsistence which it requires. If the soil or season be dry, it increases its nourishment by throwing out more fibres. The fibres themselves turn and move in the direction where moisture is most readily found, so that in the well-known instance of the plane-tree mentioned by Lord Kaimes, the roots actually descended the wall from a considerable height, in order to find subsistence in the ground below. The fibres continually suck from the soil with their spongy mouths water impregnated with whatever substances the tree requires; and even after the stem is dead, they continue this action for a time, that the gathered moisture of the roots may accelerate their decay. The manner in which the stem rises and hardens itself to resist the elements, is equally striking. The new wood of the sapling is compressed by the new layer which covers it in each succeeding year, being thus compelled to shoot upwards, and at the same time to grow firm and strong. While the wood is thus formed by accessions from without, the bark increases by layers from within, which swell it till it bursts, and becomes the rough external garment of the tree. The new layers of wood contain the channels through which sap is conveyed to

the leaves, like blood to the lungs of man. The leaves, formed of the fibres of the stem spread out and connected by a delicate net-work of green, are filled with veins and arteries, through which the life-blood flows. They are formed in the summer, to expand in the following year; packed up in their buds with wonderful neatness and precision, covered with brown scales to preserve them from the frosts of winter, and, if need be, coated with varnish, which excludes the air and moisture through the season of danger, and melts in the warm sun of the next year's spring, allowing the verdure to break forth at once and cover the tree. The early sap steals up the moment the sweet influences of Pleiades loose the bands of nature. When this has opened the buds and nourished the young leaves, the maturer sap rises, holding the food of the tree in solution, and passes directly to the leaves. These retain what they want and dismiss the rest by evaporation, which, like the insensible perspiration of man, is necessary to the health of the tree, but cannot take place without the friendly action of the sun. In the leaves, the sap is prepared to form part of the substance of the tree, and is then distributed by vessels passing principally through the bark and partly through the latest formation of wood. It is from this returning sap, that the various gums and similar substances drawn from trees are secreted, as tears and saliva in the human system are secreted from the blood. The manner and effect of respiration through the leaves, is not the least singular part of these operations. They absorb oxygen from the atmosphere during the night, to combine with the carbon in the sap and convert it into carbonic acid; the action of the light decomposes the acid, and, while the carbon is deposited in the returning sap, the oxygen is exhaled in the air. This is only returning what the leaves had borrowed from the air: it however would be sufficient to prevent injurious effects from vegetation, similar to those which animals suffer from the air which they have breathed in a confined room for any length of time; and it shows that the presence of plants, though injurious in the hours of darkness, is perfectly harmless throughout the day.

So far from being deleterious in its effects, the respiration of plants, of the million trees, herbs and flowers is actually beneficial to the air: they are constantly purifying the atmosphere, tainted as it is with the breath of animals and the presence of decay. For the oxygen they give to the air is not merely

what they borrowed: they repay the debt with interest. The oxygen, which was drawn from the soil in the sap, is exhaled at the same time with the other. It is matter of wonder to notice the effects produced both by its presence and departure. When it is exhaled in the sunshine, the carbon, deposited in the leaf and combining its dark blue with the yellow tissue, produces green, from the first pale tinge of spring to the rich deep summer shade; and when, as in the closing year, the leaves absorb oxygen by night, and lose the power of exhaling it by day, it destroys the green and produces the wild and fanciful wreaths by which autumn veils for a season the sad reality of its decay;—a splendid confusion of tints which is seen to more advantage in our country than in any other, and is not the least part of the beauty by which trees recommend themselves to man.

It is interesting to observe the manner in which trees, as the year declines, prepare themselves to resist the cold and to battle with the winter storms. They seem like vessels closing their ports, tightening their cordage, and taking in their sails, when only the veteran seaman would know that a tempest is on the way. They drop their leaves, bind close their trunks and suspend their vital movements, as soon as they hear the first whispers of the gale. The substance of the tree retains an even temperature throughout the year: it draws the sap from a depth, where it is colder in summer and warmer in winter than the external soil. The bark, too, a slow conductor of heat, serves to retain its warmth; and the tree seems to make this preparation, as if it knew that, should the cold penetrate and burst its vessels, it will surely die. It gets rid of its superfluous moisture as soon as possible, the danger of frost being increased in proportion to the water which it contains; for, as our cultivators know from the sad experience of the last winter, a sudden cold after a wet season is very apt to be fatal; but, except in extraordinary times, they contrive to secure themselves so effectually, that the severest winter cannot destroy them. Meantime the fallen leaves, unlike all other vegetable decay, seem to aid in purifying the air. Any one who has walked through a forest after the fall of the leaf, must have observed the sharp peculiar smell of its decay. In short, every thing about these lords of the wood is striking to a thoughtful mind. Their graceful and majestic forms are pleasing to the eye; their construction and internal action excite the curiosity

and worthily employ the mind; they breathe health and fragrance upon the air, and in many, probably many yet undiscovered ways, declare themselves the friends of man.

We will not dwell further on particulars of this kind, which many of our readers already know, though they well deserve attention; but we can urge men to do something for themselves more successfully, perhaps, if we show what is done for them by the liberal care of nature. And this appears in the manner in which the seeds of trees preserve their living principle, and resist decay. They may be transported to any distance, and preserved for almost any length of time. This, however, is not peculiar to the seeds of trees; those of frailer plants are equally suited in this respect to the convenience of man. If buried too deep in the ground for the heat to act upon them, they do not vegetate; but if, years after, accident brings them nearer the surface, they are ready to spring and grow. This is often seen in gardens, where long-lost plants are recovered in this way; and fields, where grain has not been sown for nearly half a century, have been covered with it in consequence of being ploughed deeper than usual. We are told that wheat, taken from an Egyptian mummy, has vegetated and is now growing; and even a bulbous root, which more resembles a bud than a seed, has grown readily after having been preserved in a similar way for not less than two thousand years. It is in this way, undoubtedly, that we must account for the fact which has been thought so difficult to explain, that when a forest is cleared away in the summary manner so common among us, it is succeeded by an entirely different growth. The seeds must have remained treasured under the soil,—a benevolent provision of nature, to cover the place with verdure, as fast as man makes it a desolation. And the same kindness appears in the provision made for the geographical distribution of trees. We have already alluded to the winged seeds, which any one may observe in the plane-tree, or in fact in most of the trees of the wood. Elevated as they are, the wind acts freely upon them, and bears them in every direction. Birds also are the means of distributing many which could not be dispersed in the air: they swallow the berries, and restore the seeds uninjured. So wide and rapid is their flight, that young grapes are sometimes found in the crops of pigeons, caught here at a season when our vines are hardly in leaf. The trees often seen growing where no human hand could have

planted them, are generally such as have been sown by birds. Tavernier remarks, that birds from distant islands swallow the ripe nutmeg, and throw it up undigested; so that a tree springs from it, more luxuriant than such as are planted by human hands. All animals bear a part in this great work of nature. The Indians believed that the squirrel employed his leisure hours in planting nuts for the benefit of man. Mice are equally philanthropic and unwearied in their exertions. It would be a shame to men, if they should do nothing for themselves, when all nature, living or inanimate, is thus engaged in their service. Trees transplanted from one soil and climate to another require care undoubtedly, but they will do much to naturalize themselves. Men certainly have done something, and wherever they have exerted themselves have been rewarded with perfect success. Though Providence has given to every region the vegetation most essential to its wants, a great proportion has been added to every civilized country by human care. Cæsar is said to have brought the chestnut from Sardis into Europe, an act by which he rendered more service to mankind, than by all his battles and victories. Many of the finest of our ornamental trees were originally imported; as for example, the Chinese Ailanthus, which endures our severest winters without protection. But so long as the treasures of our own forests are neglected, we would not recommend to our readers to go abroad for that variety which they can easily find at home. They can follow the example of the old British planters, and search out the virtues of what they already possess. 'The loppings and leaves of the Elm,' says one of them, 'when dried in the sun, are preferred to oats, by cattle.' 'Beech leaves, gathered about the fall, before they are much frost-bitten, afford the best and easiest mattresses in the world.' 'The keys of the ash, when young and tender, make a delicate pickle; its bark is the best for tanning nets, its wood for drying herrings and for burning in a lady's chamber.' There are many discoveries yet to be made, by which attention may be rewarded.

The manner in which the wants of men are provided for is finely illustrated in this department of nature. Every thing appears when and where it is wanted. Sharon Turner has pointed out a pleasing instance of this in the sacred history of the world. Seeds, as is well known to cultivators, vegetate best in darkness, and till this change is commenced, are injured if not destroyed, by the presence of the sun. Accordingly, in

the history of creation, we find what would generally be thought an inversion of the order of nature: the vegetation is said to have begun before the sun made its first appearance in the sky; that luminary was not created till its action was needed to develope the leaves and flowers. Similar examples of prospective care may be found in our country, where great changes are crowded into narrow spaces of time. When civilized man first came to these regions, the forests were ready to feed his gigantic fires; and the same process which was necessary to clear the land for cultivation supplied him with comfort for his miserable dwelling, which could hardly be warmed by any thing less than a conflagration. Before the field could be subdued, the forests abounded with game, and the rivers with fish. But the moment these resources were no longer needed for food, the beasts began to retire from the forests and the fish from the streams, as a sort of intimation to man, that they supported him only so long as he could not live by his own exertions. And now, in the populous parts of our country, where the hands of all can be profitably employed, and such resources would be no better than temptations, there is nothing left to invite or reward any sportsman, save only the forlorn and desperate fisherman, who wanders, like a ghost on the banks of the fabled river below, exulting in a nibble and beside himself with joy at the capture of a minnow. But civilization diminishes the wood; and then, those who spend fortunes in the discovery of expedients for cheap fuel,—who, as was said of Count Rumford, 'will not be content till they can cook their dinner with the smoke of their neighbor's chimney,' though they do not often benefit themselves, certainly aid to prevent ravages and waste of the woods. Meantime the treasures of coal begin to come to light; not perhaps in every part of the country, but where they are within the reach of all; for the free communication which all public improvement requires between all parts of the land demands its rail-roads and canals, and does not cease till the boat or the car can lay down its burden almost at every man's door.

It would seem, from the accounts of geologists, that we are indebted to vegetation for a great proportion of the materials which are now generally used for fires. In the peat bogs of Scotland and Ireland, the remains of large trees are very abundant: they must have originally fallen with age, and by damming streams, made the soil unfit to support vegetation;

so that whole forests fell and were buried under gradual accumulations of vegetable matter. When the levels of Hatfield Chase were drained, vast numbers of trees of all kinds were found buried under the soil, which were overthrown probably by the Romans, in order to drive out the natives who had taken shelter in them. In the peat mosses of Scotland, the pines which have been buried for ages, embalmed in their turpentine, retain their freshness; similar remains are found in various parts of England. In many of these bogs are seen the marks of successive formations: the oak is found in the lowest stratum, and in some parts of Scotland, where at the present day oaks are dwarfish if they grow at all, they are found of very large dimensions. This stratum of peat is said to be very little inferior to coal. In the second stratum, there is a much greater variety of wood; but birch and hazel are the prevailing kinds. Where there is a third stratum, the principal portion of the wood is alder. Though the peat is but little valued in this country where other fuel still abounds, there are regions in which it is very important; and we find, according to the suggestion we have made, that in countries where woods have been wasted so that now they are almost gone, and where the transportation of coal would be expensive, if possible, these remains of ancient forests have been kept by the arrangement of Providence, as a buried treasure, within the reach of man's wants, but safe from his devastations.

Many of our readers know that coal, with the exception of anthracite, is supposed also to be of vegetable origin. Geologists are not agreed upon this subject; but in some formations there are evident remains of vegetable matter, and some believe they can trace the successive changes from bituminated wood to coal. De Luc believes that the coal formations are the peat bogs of the ancient world, which had become inundated with sea water. The fossil peat, he says, differs from coal only in not having been mineralized, and not having ferruginous masses in the strata above it. It is believed that the same action of water which changed vegetable matter into peat, can, after considerable time, produce the further change to bitumen, and that the whole process can be traced from the vegetable to peat, peat to lignite, and lignite to coal. Thus it appears, that a great proportion of men are now making use of the remains of an earlier vegetation, which has been preserved for their benefit by the unmerited liberality of nature.

We say the unmerited liberality of nature, because men are strangely wanting to themselves in these respects. It is natural enough, that the first settlers of a forest region should take summary measures to clear the soil for cultivation; but to keep up a wild waste, both with axe and fire, long after the soil is subdued, is not so natural for those who have common sense to govern their actions. The western hunters, who would kill the buffalo for his tongue, are not more merciless than the 'lumberers' of Canada. A party engaged in a lumbering expedition provide themselves with axes, provisions, and cattle, and proceed to the spot chosen for their winter encampment, which of course is established where the pine timber most abounds. Here they build their log-hut in the usual extemporaneous manner, with a hole in the roof for a chimney, and pine branches for beds, on which they sleep with their feet towards the fire. The person employed as cook, provides the breakfast before day-light, if that name can be given to the meal, which they never partake till they have paid their morning devotions to the bottle. After breakfast, they separate into gangs, one of which cuts down the trees, another hews them, and the third conveys them to the water. Thus they are employed, till the streams are swelled by the melted snow in the spring, when they make the logs into rafts, and are compelled to be so much in the water that they contract a determined hostility to that element, which lasts as long as they live. This however is not very long; for their employment is almost as fatal to themselves, as to the trees they hew. Parties of this kind are fast destroying the best vegetation of the northern forests; but careless as they are, they are not half so destructive as the clearing fires. Kindled without regard to any thing beyond the immediate purpose of clearing a few acres, it does not occur to the engineer, that it may possibly spread beyond them; he takes it for granted that the fire, like the other agents he employs, will be likely to do less rather than more than he requires. Thus it often spreads into a conflagration which the floods cannot drown, and the growth of centuries sinks in a day, a scorched and blackened ruin.

This process is conducted on a smaller scale, as the country advances; not because men grow more thoughtful in regard to future wants, but simply because less is left to destroy. Even now, whoever visits the northern parts of New England at certain seasons, is almost sure to see flames climbing the

hill sides, and long red lines of fire reflected in the waters by night. Beside the vast tracts of forest, which are thus perhaps necessarily sacrificed,—beside the immense quantities of wood, annually built up in houses and vessels and consumed in fires, our steamboats are every year increasing in numbers, and making vast demands upon the forests of the country. And yet, though the remark is frequently made, that all this must have an end, no one ever seems to feel that our forests are not inexhaustible. In the reign of Edward first, the nobility of England, whose delicate senses were offended by the use of coal, procured an order from the King that nothing but wood should be used. Perhaps at that day, such an order might be obeyed, but there has not been a period since, when the comfort, prosperity, and even existence of England, have not rested upon her mineral treasures. The time must come, when our drafts upon the forests of our country must be dishonored, unless some attention is paid to this neglected subject. Wood must be used for various purposes, which anthracite coal has not yet been found to answer. If many tracts, which are now given to unprofitable cultivation, were allowed to cover themselves with this vegetation again, the husbandman might labor to more advantage in narrower bounds, and the country would not be obliged to give up an article, the want of which it would be extremely difficult to supply.

Some other countries, which have begun to feel the inconveniences of this privation, have bestowed a degree of attention upon this subject, which would seem incomprehensible to many of our countrymen. The Germans have established forest schools, in which are taught all things relating to this kind of vegetation, and the culture and management of forest trees. This system it would be impossible to introduce among us at present, at least upon a similar scale; for the Germans, thorough in every thing, include a considerable range of sciences in the forester's education, embracing not only what are indispensable, but all that can aid him in his pursuits; whereas among us, an acquaintance with the art of wood-chopping would be the only qualification required by public opinion. In France, where the forests supply nearly all their fuel in the form of wood or charcoal, a very rigid system of economy is enforced by law. In England, during the existence of the Republic, the forests were hewn down without mercy, and sold by men in power for their own advantage; in France, on the contrary, during

the Revolution, the public forests escaped the fury of the storm. In consequence of their enactments, and the strictness with which they are observed, it is calculated that the supply will always equal the demand. In England, this matter is left to individuals, with the single exception of securing the largest timber for the navy; and in this country also, the only way to produce a change in this respect, is to impress the necessity of such attention upon the people at large. Our government has lately shown some little regard to the preservation of timber. It is said that every ship of the line requires all the good wood which can be found on fifty acres of woodland. As the ships decay long before the forest can grow again, and our navy must be constantly increasing, it is certainly time that something efficient should be done. Our government, however, is a mere expression of the popular sentiment; and unless some conviction of the necessity of care should generally prevail, it is in vain to expect our rulers to regard such matters. Even if they should, they have no power to compel: the individual must be wrought upon by a regard to the public good; a principle, which acts but seldom and sparingly, unless connected with some small hope of personal advantage. There are many who show, though they do not avow the feeling of him, who said, that he should think it time to do something for posterity, when posterity had done something for him.

The business of cultivating trees and supplying their places as they are cut away, is not one that can be wholly left to nature; for, liberal as she is, she seems sometimes to grow weary of offering her bounties where there are none to regard them, or none who will regard them. Forest trees, hardy as they are when they have reached a considerable height, are tender in their infancy, and require considerable care. If such care is given, they reward it liberally; but if it is not given, there are cases in which whole forests have perished, and left a wilderness where they stood. The earth needs them to shelter it from the extremes of cold and heat, to maintain and treasure the moisture, and to produce certain changes in the air; and wherever they perish, the earth suffers, not only their loss, but the loss of all the advantages which they afford to vegetation of all other kinds, to say nothing of the loss to man. The bogs of Ireland, desolate as they are now, were once covered with wood, and the same change has taken place in Lapland and the northern islands. In America, many vast tracts at the

north, which are now desolate, were, according to Indian traditions, which there is no reason to doubt, once covered with gigantic trees. Scotland in modern times has been noted for its deficiency in this kind of verdure. When Dr. Johnson lost his walking-stick, and was assured by way of consolation that it would be found again, he refused to be comforted, thinking that no doubt it would be found, but that it was equally certain he should not find it; for how could it be expected, that any one who had possessed himself of such a stick of timber in Scotland, could restore it? It would imply supernatural virtue; and yet, in these very regions, not only the trunks and roots of trees are found in the bogs, but the roots of large oaks and even mouldering trunks are found on the surface, where they are unacquainted with the living tree. It is believed, that not only the soil, but the climate, has suffered a serious change by reason of this loss. It probably was owing to neglect, which produces the same effects with wanton violence upon the face of nature; and we know not why other countries may not suffer in the same way, if they do not pay some regard to these blessings, which, if divinely planted, still need the care of man.

It was the apprehension with which Evelyn witnessed the waste and neglect of the English forest trees, which induced him to write his Sylva, a work which turned the public attention to the subject. The government had become alarmed at the growing want of timber, which was employed in furnaces, glass-houses and mechanical works of various kinds, when coal would have answered every purpose; and was still more diminished by the practice of cutting down forests to raise money from exhausted estates, which was done by those who would never have thought of doing any thing to supply the wants of future generations. By pointing out the wonders which were hidden in every tree; by making men sensible of their importance to health and comfort, as well as to national defence and glory; by showing to the eye of taste how easily it might secure perpetual gratification with small expense or labor; by teaching rich men that here was a way in which they might secure a growing inheritance to their children, while at the same time they served others,—he undoubtedly produced a vast change in the general feeling, and not only prevented waste of the resources which already existed, but was the means of providing new, to meet the wants of coming ages. Though we have as yet had no one in this country to prepare a similar

work, suited to our circumstances and recommended by the authority of patient and successful example, we are ready to welcome every attempt of the kind. The work before us is not precisely what we should have desired, but is well planned and in many parts well executed, and we have no doubt will be widely circulated and will aid to produce the effect we are desirous to see. We hope that the time is not far distant, when the streets and squares of our cities will be crowded with forest trees, and will proudly display to the stranger how much they are indebted to our native woods; when the resting-places of the dead, which are now too often left in a state of desertion and neglect, which offends every delicate and sacred feeling, will have trees looking down in thoughtful majesty above them; when the roads through our country shall offer shelter and shade to the traveller, provided by the voluntary care of land-holders, and not the stern compulsion of law; when each dwelling, however humble, shall have its patriarchal tree spreading its protecting arms above it, to be hung with tender and sacred recollections, not like garlands which wither, but like the dodder on the oak, which strikes a thousand roots and draws its nourishment from the tree. Whenever this shall be, the change will not be more favorable to the aspect of nature, than to the character and feelings of men. This is the excellence and glory of such improvements, that man, as he becomes more refined, improves the face of nature, and nature in its turn acknowledges the obligation by softening, purifying and exalting the feelings of man.

This work commences with a dissertation on Vegetable Physiology, in which the striking facts of that science are stated with clearness and precision: they are necessarily compressed into small limits, that the work might not be too large for the popular taste, but not so much condensed as to be obscure. But while some parts of the work deserve high praise, others appear as if they had been executed by a different hand. In the account of trees, for example, it is said of the White Spruce, 'its trunk is more tapering than the Black Spruce, and like which, is a regular pyramid, but less branching and tufted.' This is certainly an error in printing, but it is strange that it should not have been discovered: it is an unfortunate one, because we find shortly after, in the account of the same tree, 'It flowers in May and June, which are succeeded by reddish cones.' A similar expression is repeated in the description of other

trees. We see nothing in the rest of the work, which would make us charge these things upon the author; they appear to have proceeded from a different hand; but as no haste in the preparation nor any other circumstance can excuse him from the responsibility, we would advise him, when this work reaches a second edition, to revise it in every part. If we believed that these things indicated the attainments of the author, we should have no hesitation in speaking of them in a tone of censure; but as they strike us differently, though we cannot account for their existence, we feel bound to say as much; while at the same time we are aware that they are found in the part of the book which the reader would first open, and are among the first things that would strike his eye.

The author has generally followed Michaux in his account of the trees of our forest. We are much indebted to this intelligent foreigner, who visited America twice to complete his undertaking; the first time as an enthusiast in science, and again in a public capacity, being employed by the French Government, with a spirit which did them honor, to explore the forest mines of our country. His work, though splendid and expensive in its execution, was extremely popular in its plan, and seems to have been prepared more with a regard to the useful arts of life than to scientific distinctions. The act of another government has thus rendered eminent service to our land. He offers hints for the improvement of our forests, by pointing out what kinds should be encouraged and what destroyed, saying, that of two tracts of forest trees, the one from which the bad sort should be cut away would be worth fifty per cent. more than the other, when both should be cleared some years after. Neither is this a matter in which every cultivator can decide for himself, without the aid of scientific observers. We know, on good authority, that with all the experience of the English planters, they were, for a long time, sorely deceived in the oak, their favorite tree, having mistaken the *Quercus Sessiflora* for the *Quercus Robur;* a serious error indeed; for the timber of the former is loose and liable to decay, while that of the latter is the firm staff which supports the arm of English power. The meaner species is supposed to have been introduced from the continent, where most of the oaks are of that description. The Quarterly Review assures us that the impostor was vigorously propagated in the English forests, and that there was good reason to believe that the outcry respecting dry-rot,

which was constantly heard from the English dockyards, was owing to this unconscious and unhappy substitution. It is said that the real Scotch fir has been supplanted in the same way; the seed of the spurious kind, as is usual in such cases, being much more abundant and growing more easily than that of the true. We know not why similar errors may not prevail among ourselves, where we are less on our guard and where there are less sagacity and skill interested to detect them. At any rate, the tree which is suited to one soil would degenerate in another, and we need the scientific observer to inform us what kinds can be cultivated to most advantage. Doubtless there are many cases, in which labor is lost and hope disappointed, by the attempt to raise plantations in soils unfriendly to them, but favorable to some other growth; and the mistake is not discovered till it is beyond repair, or till the hands that made it are in the dust.

Among the great variety of oaks in our country, are some very beautiful and useful trees. None however, except the all-important Live Oak, is equal to the English Oak; and the probability is that the latter, which has been successfully introduced, will soon be extensively cultivated. We do not know that it loses any part of its excellence in our soil, and by retaining its leaf till December, it is ornamental through a greater portion of the year than ours. The White Oak, which most resembles the European oak, is the kind most valued for its uses. It is not equal to the Live Oak for ship-building, though it is much employed for that purpose; but for all the ordinary demands of life it is incomparably more important, and, as usual in such cases, is more within the reach of all; the Live Oak not being found north of Virginia, but the White Oak growing in more or less abundance in every part of the United States. Michaux describes twenty-six species of this tree; but so various are the popular names, one might suppose that our country afforded more than twice that number. Almost all are used for important purposes of life; but the White Oak is most valued for fuel as well as other uses, and therefore, considering the improvident manner in which it is cut away, will cease to abound in coming years. None of these species are extensively cultivated for ornament or shade, though nothing can exceed the beauty of their leaves. The reason is, that they are not easily transplanted; and the common impression is, that their growth from the acorn is exceedingly slow. We have cultiva-

ted the English Oak, which grows rapidly from the seed; and we suspect that this is one of those prejudices which subsist for ages, because no one attempts to ascertain whether they have any foundation.

Such an impression, generally prevailing, has done much to discourage the cultivation of the White Elm, which is the most graceful and majestic of our trees. White Elm we call it, in submission to Michaux, whom the author of this work has followed, though we strongly doubt whether our readers ever heard it distinguished by that name. It is better suited for ornamental purposes, because less valued for the domestic and mechanical, and because it is exceedingly rapid in its growth; so that we have known many instances, in which those who transplanted or spared the sapling have lived to sit under the towering and gigantic shade. The Red or Slippery Elm is also a fine tree, and as it delights in a dry station, while the other prefers a damp alluvial soil, is well calculated for places where the common elm could not be cultivated to advantage. The intervale grounds near the Connecticut river afford some of the noblest specimens of the common elm, some of them many feet in diameter, and of the finest forms, which have risen to their glory almost within the memory of man. This tree affords a beautiful example of the provision of nature, by which the ends of the roots, the mouths of the plant, are liberally supplied with moisture. They spread beneath the surface as far as the circle where the drooping branches lean toward the ground; and the rain or dew which gathers on the leaves and branches is drained from the tree, and falls to the ground in the precise place where the roots are ready to receive it. Whether a tree be wanted to shade a dwelling, to fringe a road, or to ornament a public square, we know none better suited to the purpose than this: its appearance is grand and solemn, but without gloom. The foreign elm, which is cultivated in many parts of our country, is better to shade a burial place, on account of the depth and blackness of its foliage; and since the Weeping Willow is liable to be destroyed by our northern winters, and therefore, beautiful as it is, cannot be recommended for that purpose in this region, there is no tree more proper and expressive than the foreign elm to overhang the cities of the dead.

The various kinds of ash afford trees of great value, and also of beautiful foliage and forms. The Mountain Ash, which

is so generally cultivated, is of a different family, though somewhat resembling it in the quality of its wood. It was formerly in high repute as a spell against witchcraft; but now it is valued simply for its beauty, which it retains in the desolate season of the year, when its red berries, if judiciously planted among evergreens, afford a splendid contrast of their fiery glow with the deep and death-like shade. The White Ash is used for every purpose in which strength and elasticity are required. The Blue Ash answers similar purposes in the Western States, but is unknown along our shores. The Black Ash is a familiar tree in our Northern States, and grows abundantly in damp soils; but being less durable than the other, is used for making potash, for which its ashes are wonderfully well adapted. The Red Ash supplies the wants of our Southern States. Perhaps it would not be well to recommend the ash as an ornamental tree; and the same may be said of every other, the wood of which is in much demand. There are always those whose taste, if they have any, is not allowed to stand for a moment in the way of gain; and if the father should have sufficient public spirit and refinement to plant for the benefit of his successors, his children, influenced by the most universal and most despicable of all the passions, may be very easily tempted to defeat his designs for the benefit of others. Avarice is as inconsistent with any cultivation or indulgence of good taste and feeling, as light with darkness, or life with death. In other countries reverence for antiquity is stronger than ours, where the same spot is seldom the residence of successive generations. Here, trees have few traditional associations to protect them, and are very easily sacrificed, unless the law of taste, enacted by public feeling, makes it barbarism and sacrilege to cut them down.

The maple is the tree to which our forests are most indebted for their splendor in the decline of the year. For the reason just mentioned, the White Maple, called in the Atlantic States the Soft, and in England the Sir Wager Maple, is to be preferred as an ornamental tree; the wood being little esteemed, and the sap, though used for sugar, being less abundant than in the other kinds, and the silvery white of the lower surface of the leaf contrasting finely with the bright green above. It is sometimes in our region confounded with the *Acer Rubrum*, which passes under the various names of Red-flowering, Swamp, Soft and Scarlet-flowering Maple. This latter tree is much admired in

Europe, and well deserves it. Its blossoms are among the earliest ensigns of the spring, spreading out their deep red clusters in such profusion, as to cover the tree long before a single leaf appears. The fruit which succeeds is of the same color and beauty, particularly on the banks of ponds and low grounds, where its brilliant scarlet never fails to attract the traveller's eye: again in the autumn the same tinge dyes the fading leaves, and gives them the appearance of flames kindling along the borders of the wood. This, however, is almost too valuable for other purposes to be recommended as an ornamental tree; for, beside its general uses, which are well known, one of its varieties affords the Curled Maple, which is so much used for gun-stocks and household furniture. In old trees, the fibres, instead of being straight, are undulated, and give the wood that wavy shade which becomes so rich under the cabinet-maker's hands. But of all the kinds of maple, the *Acer Saccharinum* is most valued, and perhaps forms the noblest tree. It is variously known by the name of Hard, Rock and Sugar Maple, in the United States, and is called *Erable Sucré* by the Canadians, who were in the habit of extracting the sugar, and sending it to France to be refined, nearly two centuries ago. In order to procure the sap, the tree is bored to a small depth with an auger, and tubes are inserted, through which the sap flows into troughs or buckets; and so abundant is it, that a tree of ordinary size will yield, in the course of the season, nearly thirty gallons. The most extemporaneous preparations are all that are commonly made for this operation, consisting simply of a large boiler and an axe to cut the wood. The sap is boiled with a brisk fire, and as the quantity diminishes by evaporation the kettle is kept constantly supplied, till the syrup is in a state to crystallize, when it is strained and permitted to cool and harden. The molasses is made by discontinuing the boiling sooner, and in the usual way by drainings from the sugar. As the sap flows at the beginning of March, this work is done when the husbandman's time is not required for other labor; and it is certainly an example of the usual bounty of nature thus to supply his wants, before the increase of population and internal improvement brings the products of other countries to his door. The supply of course diminishes when no longer required, and the tree is then cultivated for its clean and cool shade, which is always beautiful, but never so striking as in the waning year. It must, however, be rescued for this purpose from the hands

of the artisan ; for beside that it affords him a variety of Curled Maple, resembling that of the *Acer Rubrum*, it furnishes also the Bird's-eye Maple, as it is called, formed by a peculiar inflexion of the fibre. The Black Sugar Maple, or Sugar tree, which is often confounded with this by botanists and cultivators, does not differ from it much externally, except in the darker color of its leaves. The Mountain Maple is little more than a large shrub, and the Striped Maple, or Moose-wood, though a tree of fine appearance, is too small to be of much value either for its wood or shade. The others, when transplanted, have not so secure a hold on life as the elm, but many prefer them as affording a deeper shade.

Among the fruit-bearing trees are some admirably suited to ornamental purposes, such as the chestnut, which is stately and noble, and particularly striking when its blossoms 'burst from their forest bowers.' But the people of New England would as soon think, to use their ancient proverb, of employing a chestnut-burr for an eye-stone, as a fruit tree for purposes of shade. But this and the *Juglans Squamosa*, or Shell-bark Hickory, are well adapted for this purpose, and their fruit would form no material objection to them, if the experiment were fairly tried. The latter is the common Walnut, which supplies our tables, children and squirrels. We suspect that some readers will be surprised to learn from this work that 'it is unknown north of Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and even there, its vegetation being impeded by the rigors of the climate, its stature is low and its fruit small.' With due submission to Michaux, we are persuaded that we have gathered this fruit near that parallel of latitude with much satisfaction in our younger days, and climbed trees of that description considerably higher than we propose ever to climb again. It is sometimes called the Shag-bark, but the name Shell-bark Hickory is not in common use in New England. The *Juglans Cathartica*, or Butter-nut, is very generally cultivated, partly for the sake of its fruit, and partly for its shade. Its branches spread in a horizontal direction to a considerable distance, and at last rest upon the ground, affording a spacious tent under which troops of children may pursue their sports, completely sheltered from the sun.

There are those who will have nothing but a cheerful shade; and this is offered them by the *Platanus Occidentalis*, better known by the names of Sycamore or Button-wood, a tree of

vast dimensions and very rapid growth in Massachusetts, though here it never approaches the size which it reaches near the rivers of the West. Much as the Oriental Plane-tree is admired in Europe the American is thought to give a finer and more ornamental shade. But as this abounds in New England, it is less esteemed than the Liriodendron, also a tree of bright and cheerful foliage, with the additional grace of flowers. This is not common in Massachusetts, though it grows wild near Connecticut river. Michaux speaks of its most common name as Poplar, but we must confess that we have never heard that name applied to it in any region of the earth to which our travels have extended. Whitewood is its most general name at present, but this is giving way to Tulip-tree. This magnificent plant has the double merit of being rare in our cities, and at the same time easily obtained, and its cultivation will probably at no distant time supersede that of the Plane-tree.

For a cheerful shade, none would exceed the *Robinia Pseudacacia*, known by the name of Locust or Yellow Locust; the velvet green of its foliage is delightful to the eye, and its rapid growth recommends it to those who desire a quick and airy shade. But it is melancholy to one who regards such things, to pass through New England and see the fate of this tree; hard and solid as the wood is, it is eaten throughout and in all directions by the larva of a moth, so that its trunk is ragged and decaying in appearance, and its branches broken by the wind. There are plantations which have escaped at present; but the evil is so general that we despair of preserving the tree, since not even the semblance of a remedy has yet been suggested by practical experiment or scientific research. This is the more to be regretted, from the nature of the soil which the tree prefers. It chooses such as are light and barren, and therefore unfit for most others, and seems to thrive luxuriantly in the sands, and annually pays its ground-rent, by covering the soil with its leaves, which form the most fertilizing substance known in agriculture. Michaux transferred the Locust to France, where it grows without injury from this destroyer; and thus foreign lands seem likely to enjoy the benefit of this invaluable wood, after it is lost to its parent country. Its use in ship building, in which it is found stronger than Live Oak, and lighter than the Red Cedar, while it is as durable as either, and in making fences, where its posts will outlast all others, cannot be supplied. The Rose-flowering or Glutinous Locust, a tree which

produces its rich flowers sometimes twice in the season, is suffering under the attacks of the same destroyer, and we shall probably be obliged to surrender one of the finest ornaments of our gardens. The Sweet Locust, or Three-thorned Acacia, has escaped thus far, and will be cultivated for its elegant foliage and its rapid growth, though it affords no shelter from the sun. Where a light screen is wanted to obstruct the sight in a measure, while it admits the sun and air, this will be found a very desirable tree. It is now cultivated for hedges in many parts of New England, but we are assured by some, on whose judgment we rely and who have tried the experiment, that such hedges are wanting in the two most essential properties of a hedge, and afford neither beauty nor protection. It does not compare with the *Rhamnus Catharticus*, or Buck-thorn, a plant first applied to this purpose by E. H. Derby, Esq. of Salem, in this State. Whoever has seen hedges of this plant, properly managed, will allow that neither the Haw-thorn nor any other can bear comparison with it in any respect for which a hedge is wanted. It was said of Evelyn, that 'he had the honor to be the first who brought the *Alaternus*, (a species of *Rhamnus*) into use and reputation, for the most beautiful of hedges and verdure in the world, and propagated it from Cornwall to Cumberland.' We have no doubt that the Buck-thorn will come into general use before many years, and he who first suggested it will be acknowledged to have rendered good service to our country.

The more delicate trees of our southern climates have been much cultivated in New England, but we are inclined to think, to but little advantage. The Catalpa, where it has room to spread and lean its long branches toward the ground, is certainly ornamental, particularly in the time of its large and showy flowers; but if a gale come to try the strength of the boughs, or a severe wind lift the bark, the planter regrets that he had not given the same care to the hardier tree. The Magnolias are liable to similar objections, in our northern climates; since, though they do sometimes flourish, those that escape are few in number compared with those that are destroyed, excepting the *Tripetala* and *Glauca*, the former of which grows with tolerable security under the shade of large trees, while the latter, a fine shrub, will endure our seasons in almost every exposure. In fact the only place in Massachusetts where it grows wild, is in a swamp on Cape Ann, where it must be exposed to more

zephyrs than a tender plant could well bear. If gay flowers are desired, why not cultivate the *Pavia Lutea* or *Ohioansis*, the latter of which, though an evident horse-chestnut, still goes by the name of Buck-eye? Our country is remarkable for the variety of names given to almost every tree; thus for example, the *Magnolia Glauca*, just mentioned, is called the Small Magnolia, Swamp Sassafras, Sweet Bay, White Bay, Swamp Laurel, and Beaver-wood, titles as numerous as our most modest learned societies confer upon their honorary members. The *Pinus Australis*, a tree unknown to New England, passes under the names of Yellow, Pitch, Long-leaved, Broom, Southern, Red, and Georgia Pitch-pine, while, as if for the sake of a pleasing variety, our common White Pine, *Pinus Strobus*, is variously denominated Weymouth, Sapling, Apple and Pumpkin.

In our opinion, no tree of our forests, except the grandest object it exhibits, a hemlock leaning with age, is so magnificent as the tree last mentioned. Its form is bold and towering, and its foliage distinguished for its soft and peculiar green; nothing exceeds it for height and gigantic proportion. Belknap, in his History of New Hampshire, mentions one which was cut down near the Merrimac, and measured seven feet eight inches in diameter. The height sometimes reaches one hundred and eighty feet. Happily for its security, this tree does not abound in resin; that article in New England is found in the *Pinus Rigida* or Pitch-pine, which has no beauty to recommend it to the eye. The tapering spire and light green of the Larch, known also by the names of Hacmatac and Tamarac, make it a graceful addition to plantations, particularly in damp soils. The name Hacmatac is also given to the *Thuya Occidentalis* or *Arbor Vitae*, which grows in Maine and New Hampshire. This in turn is often called White Cedar, a name which belongs to the *Cupressus Thuyoides*, which in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina is called the Juniper, while in New England the name Juniper is given to a shrub, *Juniperus Communis*, which never rises into a tree. Thus is introduced a confusion as agreeable as that by which the names Partridge, Quail, and Pheasant, are transposed in different parts of the country. That elegant tree, the *Abies Balsamifera*, is not only known by its most proper and expressive name, the Silver Fir, but also by that of Fir Balsam and Balm of Gilead; while this last name is applied to the *Populus Candicans*, a tree as unlike as possible to the former, and which certainly does not

need it, being already equipped with the titles of Black Poplar, Tacmahac and Heart-leaved Balsam. But we have no time to dwell longer upon this part of our subject. It is sufficient to say that our forests will afford the planter every thing he can desire; and by contrasting the light glancing ripple of the aspen leaves with the dark and steady calm of the evergreen, or the deep glossy oak-leaf with the silken pine; by blending lights and shadows, and contrasting graceful and delicate with lofty and commanding forms; by requiring the mighty to shelter the weak, and placing the humble under the protection of the high; by adapting the vegetation to the character of the ground, and the hill, plain or valley, in which it is to grow; and, though last, not least, by mingling the trees in such a manner as to secure the richest variety of autumnal colors, he may produce effects, which, though not the result of lavish expense and laborious preparation, shall enchant the eye, and improve the heart.

The great proportion of those who pay attention to the business of planting in this country, seem to do it mechanically, with the single object of collecting trees in sufficient numbers, and without regard to the circumstances just mentioned, or in fact to any principles of taste. If the enclosure be small, it is bordered by trees in regular file and at equal distances, arranged with military precision; or if the improvements are made in a wider field of action, the trees are gathered by a press-gang and left to themselves, as if they could choose positions best suited to their habits and natures. Those who can embrace forests in their plans are few in number; and where any conduct their improvements on this extended scale, the woods are still so extensive in our country, that they are seldom obliged to resort to the slow process of transplanting. A forest is a grand and imposing object, whether rising on the hill side like the galleries of an amphitheatre, or resting on the smooth and even plain; and reminds us of the ocean, not only by the hollow sound that sweeps through its caverns, but by the bays and indentures that vary the line of its borders. But in this country we need groves more than forests, and clumps and thickets more than groves; and the manner of arranging these, so as to lose the stiffness and formality of art, to secure the favorable points of prospect, and to shut out whatever might offend the eye, and to bring together in their best proportions the variety of colors and forms in nature, are refinements which at present

have excited but very little attention, though there is hardly an estate of the least pretension, in which they are not called for. Scarcely any one ever thinks of what is called the composition of the scene.

As this branch of the subject does not come within the design of the work before us, we shall not dwell upon it here. If a man desire to improve the appearance of his estate, he naturally wishes to enjoy the result of his labors as early as possible; and if his object be to improve the village road and burial place, or the streets and squares of the city, he will not have patience to plant the seed, nor will any trees, except such as have gained considerable strength and size, be able to endure the rough treatment to which they are necessarily exposed in public places. But the business of transplanting trees already grown is so laborious, expensive and slow,—so much care is required, and so little given, without the constant presence of a superintending eye; so many trees wither and die at once and so many linger on in a sickly and discouraging state, holding places which might be better filled, and, after all the care that has been given them, disappointing the planter's hopes at last, that those who commence the undertaking with enthusiasm are apt to give it over in despair. It is therefore very important to establish and make known some rules upon the subject, which shall prevent such waste of labor, money and time; and if this could be done, it would secure to the public the benefit of many such improvements; for there are those who would have spirit enough to make them, if they could do it with a reasonable assurance that their exertions would not be thrown away. We believe that there is much more public spirit existing every where, than we see displayed in this or any other way; for no man attempts an enterprise with vigor unless he is confident of success, and so many endeavors of this kind have failed, that few have any very inspiring hope of raising arches of shade, which shall make those who come after him approve his taste and bless his friendly hand.

The art of transplanting is old enough to be better understood than it is. It is one of those things which, because it is easily done, is seldom well done. It is well known that the Greeks and Romans were in the constant habit of removing trees and even plantations of considerable size, without observing any other rule than that which is now in common use among our planters, who trim the branches in proportion to

what the roots have suffered in the operation. Count Maurice, of Nassau, when governor of Brazil, chose a naked island for his residence; and by removing trees in great numbers, some of them fifty years old and more, soon covered it with verdure and beauty. Similar attempts were made in Europe, some of them of a still bolder character, the trees being transplanted in mid-summer. Evelyn observes that huge oaks had been removed in France before his day. Louis XIV. was a great transplanter both of trees and men, but unfortunately he removed the trees with as little regard to principle, as he manifested in removing the men. In these attempts, a ball of earth was carried with the tree, which added considerably to the weight, particularly when the earth was frozen. All these improvements required great expense and labor, and were ways in which the wealthy showed their power rather than suggestions of taste and a love of nature.

The well-known experiment of Sir Henry Stuart was the first attempt at decided improvement, and like most other valuable discoveries was not owing to accident, but was the result of scientific inquiry into the subject. It seemed as unnatural to him to mangle and hew the tree before its removal, as to amputate the limbs of an emigrant before he leaves his country. It is true there must be sufficient root to convey support to the stem and leaves, but if the root be preserved unmutilated, so may the stem and branches; and it may be so preserved, either by taking up the whole or by cutting off the ends of the larger roots in the preceding spring. They soon throw out fibres, and convey the same nourishment as before, though they spread in a narrower circle. Being thus contracted into a small space, it requires less time to dig round and raise them; and, as the place to receive the tree is previously made ready, the whole operation is finished with but small expense of labor or time. This suggestion, simple and natural as it seems, was entirely new, and the success with which it has been followed by himself and others, will inspire many to follow his example. On his own estate he supplied, by his own energy, both the woods and waters. It was originally destitute of both, but now affords the varieties of grove and forest, promontory and island, lake and river, produced, not by resisting but by following the dictates of nature, whose unceasing endeavor it is to remove barrenness, to extend and strengthen vegetation, and who spreads her bright green wreaths even over the ruins made by the desolating hands of man.

But, in the face of these successful experiments, we must confess that we agree with the author of this work, that the best way of raising trees is from the seed. When sown in a favorable soil, they grow so rapidly that they will almost overtake those which have been transplanted, which, though they live and flourish, do not always recover their vigor. Any one may observe how soon the tree which springs from the chance-sown seed rises and throws its shadow over his garden, and he may be sure that it will not grow less rapidly when the seed is sown with care. We have seen those who have raised their shade about them in this way, and their patience has been well rewarded in a space of time which seemed surprisingly short even to themselves. Doubtless if it were possible to procure young trees raised for the purpose, a few years might be saved; but our nurseries will not afford them; and to take trees from the forest, for the purpose, is like forcing owls into the sun. We would recommend it therefore to the planter to arm himself with that patience, which is said to belong to the husbandman; to sow the seed with both hands, and to take encouragement from the thought, that if he does not enjoy the results of his labors, others will. But these should be generous labors; they belong to liberal spirits, they imply a certain degree of refinement; such refinement as makes men willing to exert themselves without money and without price.

We take the liberty to recommend to every man who has an inch of ground, to fill it up with a tree. There are many who will do nothing of the kind, because their territories are small. We can assure them that they will find the truth of what Hesiod said to agriculturists thousands of years ago, that half an estate is more than the whole. Within these limits, however small, they produce effects which will fill even themselves with surprise. If their enclosure be within the city, where the object is to make the most of their possessions, they should remember that if they cannot have verdure on the soil, they can have it in the air; and if in the country, that nothing gives a more unfavorable and at the same time correct impression of the character of a landholder, than the aspect of an estate which presents no trees along its borders, to shelter the traveller from the sun. Every cottage should have its elm, extending its mighty protecting arms above it. The associations and partialities of children will twine themselves like wild vines around it; and if any one doubt that he will be better and hap-

pier for such, he little knows the feeling with which the wayfarer in life returns from the wilderness of men to the shadow,

> 'Where once his careless childhood strayed,
> A stranger yet to pain.'

We wish it were in our power to do something to call the general attention to the subject of respect to the dead. It gives a painful feeling, to pass through a city or village in our country, and to see the shameful desolation and neglect of the burial place, which, if no longer consecrated by religious acts, should certainly be held sacred by the heart. And yet, were it not for the monuments which here and there appear above the golden-rod and the aster, we should not know these from any other barren fields. A vile enclosure of unpainted wood is all that protects them from violation; and if any tree cast a friendly shadow over it, we may be sure it is one planted by the hand of nature, not of man. We have seen places of this kind in the country, which the fathers of the hamlet seemed to have chosen with a taste seldom found among the early inhabitants of any region, on the banks of rivers, or the borders of deep forests, where every thing around favored the contemplation to which the mind in such places is, and ought to be led, and have found evidence there of the degeneracy, not the improvement of their children, who had disappointed their designs, and suffered all to run to waste and barrenness, whether from want of refinement or from avarice, we did not know. It is perfectly surprising that none should be found to take away this reproach. Some of the most uncivilized nations are ages before us in their regard for these delicate and sacred feelings. They would not permit the young and beautiful, the aged and honorable, to be cast into a place so neglected, when even a dog who had been faithful would deserve a more honored grave. Our own evergreen cypress is as suitable as the Oriental to surround the place of death; and were it not so, we have many other trees whose character of form and foliage is well suited to the sad and thoughtful expression, which the common feeling requires such places to bear.

There is no need of urging the claims of this kind of improvement upon the inhabitants of our cities. They are in general sufficiently attentive to their public grounds; but one thing is a little remarkable in their proceedings; they confine themselves to a single tree. Can any mortal inform us why a spot

like the common of our city, for example, where thousands of trees might stand without interfering with the public or each other, should not afford specimens of other trees beside the elm? It is a noble tree, perhaps the finest that could be chosen; but the polished foliage of the oak, the light green of the plane-tree and willow, the various forms and shades of the maples, larches, and pines would break the uniformity of the scene, and relieve the eye. Moreover, groups of trees might be scattered here and there to advantage, without injury to the public; for if they should occasionally break the ranks of the train-bands, we apprehend that no serious consequences would endanger the defence of our country. Places for which nature has done much, require the more of man, because they offer him a vantage ground to begin his improvements, and constantly upbraid him if he neglects them.

ART. VI.—*Sir James Mackintosh.*

A General View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, chiefly during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. By the Right Honorable Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, LL. D. F. R. S. M. P. 8vo. Philadelphia. 1832.

Since the decease of Stewart, Sir James Mackintosh has been generally considered as the first living writer on Moral Philosophy in the English language. Until the publication of the work before us, his reputation as such had not been justified by any extensive, elaborate or scientific work, and was rather imperfectly sustained by his Introductory Lecture on the Law of Nations, by various anonymous publications in the leading periodical journals, and by the fame of his brilliant and powerful conversation. Political and professional pursuits had probably occupied much of the time which he would otherwise have devoted to what seems to have been through life his favorite study. The present volume will not entirely supply the deficiency which was felt before, and hardly does full justice to his great talents and various learning. It is, however, a very interesting and valuable production. We were preparing to give it the notice to which it is so well entitled by its intrinsic importance and the celebrity of the author, when intelligence was received in this country of his untimely death.

We call it untimely, for although he was somewhat advanced in years, and had nearly reached the ordinary term of human life, his intellectual and literary activity appeared to be constantly increasing. This fact had encouraged the expectation that he was destined to enjoy a protracted, fruitful and glorious old age. The lamented event which has disappointed these hopes augments our interest in the work before us, which now remains the only formal record of his mature opinions upon the most momentous of all subjects. Before we proceed to notice it, it may not be improper to offer a brief sketch of the leading events of his life.

Sir James Mackintosh was born in the small parish of Dorish, in the county of Inverness, in Scotland, on the 24th of October, 1765. His family was a branch of one of the principal Highland clans, and his father, who was a captain in the army, had little to bequeath to him but an honorable name. Through the kindness of some of his relations, who discerned the early promise of his future greatness, he was enabled to pursue the studies necessary to a liberal profession; and in the year 1787, he took the degree of doctor of medicine in the university of Edinburgh. Some of our fellow-citizens, who were then pursuing their studies at that seat of learning, recollect him as a youth of ardent curiosity, wide research, engaging manners and brilliant conversation. Although the necessity of providing for his personal wants had compelled him to choose a profession, the superior attractions of polite literature and philosophy prevented him from studying it with any great earnestness, and it is understood that his attention to medicine was little more than formal. He, however, wrote and submitted to the medical faculty, on taking his degree, a Latin dissertation on muscular action, which was probably his first literary production, and which has since been republished. We are not informed in regard to its merit. Soon after leaving the university, he repaired to London, ostensibly for the purpose of practising as a physician.

It is probable, however, that he had no very serious intention of making the practice of medicine the occupation of his life; for we find him, immediately after his arrival at London, entering with zeal into political controversy. The King, George III., was at that time suffering under his first attack of insanity, and the great question of the day was the Regency.

Mr. Pitt, the minister, maintained that the power of the Prince of Wales as Regent should be strictly limited; while Fox, the leader of the opposition, and who enjoyed the confidence of the Prince, struggled to obtain for him nearly the whole extent of the Royal prerogative. Mackintosh made his *début* as a political writer, by the publication of a pamphlet in support of the views of Fox. The work attracted very little notice; and the author, disgusted perhaps at the indifference of the public, turned his thoughts for a time more intently upon his profession. For the purpose of increasing his qualifications for it, he visited Leyden, then the most celebrated medical school in Europe, and afterwards travelled in some other parts of the Netherlands. Soon after his return to London, his father died and bequeathed to him a small landed property in Scotland. Whether in consequence of this change of circumstances, or for some other reason of which we are not informed, he now quitted the profession of medicine, and entered his name as a student of law at Lincoln's Inn; where, after the usual course of preliminary studies, he was regularly admitted to the bar. In 1789 he married Miss Stuart, a Scottish lady, residing at London, without beauty or fortune,—but of great intelligence and most amiable character.

That year will be forever memorable in the annals of the world, as the one which brought with it the opening of the French Revolution. The public mind in all parts of Europe was agitated by the same causes which produced the crisis in France. Mackintosh, like most other persons of his age, temperament and position in the world, sympathized ardently with the friends of reform, and waited with eager impatience for a suitable opportunity to take the field as a literary combatant on their side. This opportunity was soon afforded by the publication of Edmund Burke's celebrated Reflections on the French Revolution. Burke, though he had been through life an ardent, consistent, and doubtless most sincere champion of popular principles of government,—though he had sustained with all his might the cause of this country against the British ministry, during the controversies that preceded our war of Independence,—did not feel himself obliged to patronize Revolution, merely as such, wherever it broke out;—and looking at that of France by the lights of his long experience, deep learning and admirable sagacity, he thought he saw in it a tendency to anarchy, disorganization and national ruin, rather than

reform and liberty. With him, no opinion was ever adopted in a moderate or half-way form. Having taken up an unfavorable notion of the French Revolution, he thundered it forth to the world in his Reflections with a power of reasoning and a splendor of eloquence, which he had never reached before, and which no other political writer has perhaps ever equalled. It was, however, to borrow a figure from Lord Byron,—

——'A thundergust against the wind.'

The current of public opinion continued for a long time to set with overwhelming force in England, as it did every where else, in favor of the revolution; and the mighty champion who had thrown down the gauntlet on the other side was forthwith met by a host of volunteers of all ages, sexes and characters. The first answer that appeared, was a pamphlet by Mary Wolstonecraft, the renowned advocate of the Rights of Woman. It was on this occasion that Paine published his well-known Rights of Man. While preparing that work, Paine heard from a common friend that Mackintosh was also engaged upon an answer to Burke, and is said to have sent him the following polite message:—'Tell your friend Mackintosh that if he do not make haste, my work against Burke will be published; after which nothing more on that subject will be read.' Such, however, was the fatuity of the public, that neither the labors of the political stay-maker,—such was the profession of Paine,—nor those of his fair customer, were thought to supersede entirely the necessity of further reply to the terrible Reflections. In the spring of 1791, Mackintosh published his answer, under the title of '*Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, or a Defence of the French Revolution and its English admirers against the accusations of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, including some strictures on the late production of Mr. De Calonne.'

This work evinces a remarkable degree of talent, although it possesses very little substantial and permanent value. The style is excellent, and distinguished the author immediately as one of the most powerful and elegant writers in the language. In this particular he sustains very well the dangerous comparison with his giant antagonist. To say this, is, of course, to give him the highest praise. As respects the substance, he appears to less advantage. At the present day, when we have all acquired upon this subject the tardy and worthless wisdom which follows

the event, it is but too plain that the combatants are no other than Philip intoxicated and Philip sober. In talents, learning, eloquence, zeal, uprightness of purpose, warmth of heart, they are very well matched; but Mackintosh gives us the frothy effervescence of an immature mind which is still in a state of fermentation, while in Burke we have the pure, ripe, golden, glowing nectar. Mackintosh glances hastily at the surface of society. Burke penetrates the mass, and spreads before us, with unerring truth and sagacity, the principles that hold it together and regulate its internal action. Burke found at the time very little sympathy either among reflecting men or with the body of the people; and even now, although his practical conclusions have been confirmed by the event, and are generally acquiesced in, the public mind has no where,—no, not even in England,—reached the elevation of his theory. If it had, we should not witness the scenes that are now acting on the theatre of Europe. Independently of the feebleness of his general reasoning as compared with that of Burke, the work of Mackintosh was unfortunate in being for the most part a defence of the specific form of government established in France by the States General at the opening of the Revolution. This cobweb constitution, for which the too sanguine friends of liberty had vainly predicted a perennial durability, was swept into nothing the next year; and with it disappeared in a great measure the point and value of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*. In the mean time, however, the work had attracted much attention,—had passed rapidly through three editions, and had rendered the author a person of consequence among those who shared his principles and feelings.

As this work is rather scarce and not likely to be soon republished, we present the following extract as a specimen of its style and principles. The views it expresses in regard to the British Constitution, which the author himself very soon abandoned, have become, within two or three years, by the late singular revolution of feeling in England, almost universal, and have actually led to the adoption of the momentous and once so much derided measure of *Parliamentary Reform*. What their further consequences will be, the history of the next ten years will determine.

'Who can, without indignation, hear the House of Commons of England called a popular representation? A more insolent and

preposterous abuse of language is not to be found in the vocabulary of tyrants. The criterion that distinguishes laws from dictates, freedom from servitude, rightful government from usurpation, the law being an expression of the general will, is wanting.

'We are boldly challenged to produce our proofs; our complaints are asserted to be chimerical, and the excellence of our government is inferred from its beneficial effects. Most unfortunately for us, most unfortunately for our country, these proofs are too ready and too numerous. We find them in that "monumental debt," the bequest of wasteful and profligate wars, which already wrings from the peasant something of his hard-earned pittance; which already has punished the industry of the useful and upright manufacturer, by robbing him of the asylum of his house, and the judgment of his peers; to which the madness of political Quixotism adds a million for every farthing that the pomp of ministerial empiricism pays; and which menaces our children with convulsions and calamities, of which no age has seen the parallel. We find them in the black and bloody roll of persecuting statutes that are still suffered to stain our code; a list so execrable, that were no monument to be preserved of what England was in the eighteenth century but her statute book, she might be deemed still plunged into the deepest gloom of superstitious barbarism. We find them in the ignominious exclusion of great bodies of our fellow-citizens from political trusts, by tests which reward falsehood and punish probity, which profane the rights of the religion they pretend to guard, and usurp the dominion of the God they profess to revere. We find them in the growing corruption of those who administer the government,—in the venality of a House of Commons which has become only a cumbrous and expensive chamber for registering ministerial edicts,—in the increase of a nobility arrived to a degradation, by the profusion and prostitution of honors, which the most zealous partisans of democracy would have spared them. We find them, above all, in the rapid progress which has been made to silence the great organ of public opinion, the Press, which is the true control on ministers and parliaments; who might else, with impunity, trample on the impotent formalities that form the pretended bulwark of our freedom. The mutual control, the well-poised balance of the several members of our legislature, are the visions of theoretical, or the pretext of practical politicians. It is a government, not of check, but of conspiracy,—a conspiracy which can only be repressed by the energy of popular opinion.'

At about the same time when Mackintosh was writing his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, or shortly after, M. de Châteaubriand,

then an exile from his country, also wrote and published at London a work, entitled an Essay on Revolutions, which has almost the same general characteristics with the *Vindiciæ*, but is even more extravagant both in substance and style. The similarity between these two productions shows how naturally they resulted from the influence of the existing state of political affairs upon the public mind. The authors of both, under the guidance of the great teacher, Experience, afterwards reformed their political theories, and without going, —as is too often the case with disenchanted enthusiasts,—to the opposite extreme, have sustained through life, in word and in action, the reputation of moderate and yet vigorous, consistent and persevering friends of liberty.

In the case of Mackintosh, the natural operation of Experience in correcting the wild enthusiasm of youth, was aided by the effect of a personal acquaintance with his illustrious opponent. Not long after the publication of the *Vindiciæ*, a person who was desirous to obtain, through the influence of Burke, an employment under Government, prevailed upon Mackintosh to write a letter in his favor to the philosopher of Beaconsfield. Mackintosh, although at that time personally unknown to Burke, executed the task in his powerful and elegant manner. Burke, of course, replied, and a correspondence followed, which ended by an invitation to Mackintosh to visit him at his villa. The proposal was accepted, and after passing a few days and nights in this more than Tusculan retreat, the champion of the French Revolution returned to London, and frankly avowed to his confidential associates, that he was a convert to the opinions of his great antagonist. Few literary documents would be more interesting, than an ample record of the conversations that were held during this visit by these two illustrious friends of liberty and virtue. Instead of the shock between two opposite forms of ignorance and prejudice, which constitutes the staple of most controversies, and can of course end in nothing but mutual exasperation, we should have seen a polite and friendly encounter of men of equal wit and learning, comparing the somewhat various results of an equally honest inquiry, and concluding,—as such comparisons might be generally expected to terminate,—in mutual agreement. Such a work would furnish political and moral lessons, more directly applicable to the exigencies of the present time, than any existing treatise with which we are acquainted.

Unfortunately there are,—so far as we are informed,—no traces of these conversations in existence. The general scope of the argument on both sides may easily be conjectured from the writings of the two parties, and an attempt to throw it into the form of dialogue, in the manner of Plato and Cicero, would furnish a very agreeable employment to any one who loves to exercise his mind upon the noblest objects of meditation and study.

Although Mackintosh adopted at this time the moderate and rational view of liberal principles, to which he adhered through life, he made no public avowal of any change of sentiment, sent in no adhesion to the ruling powers of the day, and received from them no proofs of satisfaction or confidence in the shape of emolument or office. His conversion is therefore entirely free from any suspicion of interested motives. The alteration that had taken place in his opinions was in fact unknown to the public, who continued to class him, as the author of the *Vindiciæ*, with the most violent adherents of the revolutionary party. Hence, when he applied soon after for the use of the great hall of Lincoln's Inn, for the purpose of delivering a course of lectures on the Law of Nations, the society of lawyers, who held the property of the building, refused to grant his request, on the ground that they did not choose to convert their apartment into a theatre for the promulgation of Jacobinism. Even the intercession of Mr. Pitt did not remove the difficulty; and it was not till Lord Loughborough, who, as Chancellor, had some authority in the matter, interfered, that a favorable answer was finally secured.

This course of lectures was fully attended by a most respectable audience, and established the high reputation which the author had acquired for talent and eloquence, while it exhibited him in the light of a more correct and profound thinker than he had shown himself in his previous productions. It is, we believe, substantially the same which he has since delivered in his capacity of Professor of Public Law at the East-India College. The Introductory Lecture was published at the time, and is one of the most valuable and important of his printed works. We cannot doubt, that the whole course will be brought before the world; and if the other Lectures compare at all in merit with the first, the work must become at once the standard and text-book of the great sciences of Natural and National Law.

Mackintosh had been, as we have remarked, admitted to the bar, but whether from disinclination or want of aptitude for the details of legal practice, it does not appear that he was much employed. We hear very little of his exertions in this field, excepting from his defence of Peltier, in the year 1802. Peltier was a French emigrant, who published a newspaper at London, in which he had inserted a pretty severe article upon Bonaparte, then in the freshness of his honors as First Consul. The peace of Amiens had just been concluded, and Bonaparte, not thinking it consistent with the friendly relations between the two countries, that he should be libelled at London, prevailed upon the ministry to bring Peltier to trial. Mackintosh appeared as his advocate, and delivered on the occasion an oration in defence of the liberty of the press, which is certainly one of the most elaborate and finished specimens of modern eloquence. We are not sure, that there is any single speech in the English language, which can fairly be compared with it. The subject was in fact *unique*, and afforded the finest possible scope for the talent of the advocate, who, having been, on the other hand, particularly adapted by his taste and trained by discipline and study to the line of argument which it required, was uncommonly well fitted to do justice to it.

This effort produced a strong impression at the moment in favor of the author's powers. Although it did not effect the acquittal of Peltier, who was too clearly within the scope of the law to escape a verdict, it was highly complimented by the court, and was read with great admiration when it appeared in print. It would probably have introduced Mackintosh into a larger and more lucrative course of practice. In the mean time, however, he found himself without fortune, with a large and increasing family, and of course in circumstances that did not permit him to wait very patiently for the results of the slow progress of his professional fame. Soon after his appearance in this great cause, he accepted the place of Recorder of Bombay,—the first judicial office in that colony,—which promised an ample income and literary leisure, at the cost of expatriation, and too probably, as the event proved, the loss of health. On this occasion, Mackintosh received the honor of Knighthood. He had previously lost his first wife, and espoused, in second nuptials, Miss Allen, of Pembroke, who, with several children, accompanied him on his voyage to the East.

It is not very honorable to the discernment of the govern-

ment, that they should have permitted the expatriation for so many of the best years of his life, of one of the master spirits of the country, whose proper sphere of action was the centre of business at home: and it is much to be regretted, that private considerations rendered it expedient for Sir James to consent to the proposal. While he remained abroad, he discharged his official duties with great distinction, and contributed, by his high intellectual and moral qualities, to elevate the standard of civilization in the remote colony where he resided. He founded a literary society at Bombay, as Sir William Jones had done at Calcutta; but did not engage with the same ardor in the study of the oriental languages and literature, with which his acquaintance was very limited. After a residence in India of about ten years, he found his health impaired by the effect of the climate, and returned to England with his fortune very little if at all improved, and with a liver complaint which adhered to him for the rest of his life, and finally conducted him to an untimely grave.

Soon after his return to England, Sir James was placed in parliament for one of the nomination boroughs, and was regularly returned to every succeeding parliament for the rest of his life. These boroughs, however irregular in principle, were practically a very convenient method of securing to the public the services of many of the best qualified men, who would otherwise have found it difficult to obtain a seat. In parliament he acted uniformly with the whigs on the great points of foreign and domestic policy, such as Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, and the like; but always professed their principles in a moderate and judicious shape. On the questions connected with neutral rights, which grew out of the relations between Great Britain and this country, he cooperated actively and ably with his friend, Mr. Brougham, in support of the liberal side. After the close of the war, he took occasion, in one of his speeches in the House of Commons, to compliment the American commissioners at Ghent, upon their 'astonishing superiority' over their opponents. In other speeches and in his writings, he has often spoken in friendly and favorable terms of this country. This candid,—perhaps partial disposition, in one whose opinion was authority, coming into contrast as it did with the meanness and illiberality of many of his contemporaries, had so much endeared the name of Sir James Mackintosh to our citizens, that he was generally

styled in the newspapers whenever he was mentioned, *the friend of America.* A report, which was spread soon after the entrance into power of the present ministry, that he was coming out to reside among us as British minister, was heard with much satisfaction, and there cannot be a doubt that his reception would have been of the most gratifying character. We are not informed whether there was any foundation for this report, but at this time his health was probably too much impaired to admit of his encountering the trials of a long voyage and a new climate.

The questions upon which he spoke in parliament most frequently were those of foreign policy and international law. His eloquence was of a dignified, manly and imposing character. His manner was not particularly graceful, and he had a slight Scotch accent; but his language was flowing, copious, energetic and elegant, and above all carried with it to the minds of his hearers the rich gifts of profound and original thought. The delightful combination of philosophy and taste was exhibited by Mackintosh in higher perfection than it had been by any parliamentary orator since the time of Burke, not excepting even Canning, who yet exemplified it in a very remarkable degree. The eloquence of Sir James was far more finished than that of Brougham, although the latter, from his superior activity and industry, possessed a greater share of political influence, and has finally made a much more brilliant fortune in the world. Sir James, however, had the state of his health permitted, would have probably been Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Lord Grey, and after having been nailed for much of his life to the north wall of opposition, and suffered a good deal from pecuniary embarrassments, would have found the evening of his days gilded and cheered with the southern sun of power and fortune. This was denied him, and the only temporal reward which he received for his labors and studies was a great but dowerless fame. It is indeed rather lamentable that in a country where jobs and pensions were quite *à l'ordre du jour*, there should have been found no employment that could afford a competency at home to a person whose genius was an honor to the age, and with the advantage of an easier position in the world would have enabled him to realize more completely than perhaps any of the moderns have yet done, the beautiful union of talents, virtues and graces, that distinguished the character of the

illustrious Roman orator, to which his own bore in its leading traits a marked resemblance.

His passionate devotion to letters undoubtedly co-operated with the feeble state of his health, after his return to Europe, to diminish his professional and political activity. He projected early in life a great work on the history of his country, and collected materials with much assiduity, but does not appear to have commenced the execution of the task until a short time before his death. He then undertook an abridgement of the history of England, for the Cabinet Cyclopedia, of which he afterwards extended the plan, so that, had he finished it, it would probably have furnished a pretty complete account of the period subsequent to the Revolution of 1688. Unfortunately he lived to publish only two volumes, and to prepare a third, which he is said to have left in manuscript, making less than half of the entire work, which would have reached to eight. These three volumes, with the work before us and a life of Sir Thomas More, constitute, we believe, in addition to those which we have already mentioned, the whole of his acknowledged productions. They form a scanty product for so long and careful a cultivation of so rich a soil. It is understood, that Sir James was also the author of some of the best articles in the Edinburgh Review. His writings, whether fugitive or studied, are uniformly distinguished by original thought, and a noble and elegant flow of language. Even his private letters, some of which have crept into print, have the air of finished compositions. We trust that measures will be taken immediately for collecting the whole of his works, acknowledged or anonymous, with such of his manuscripts as are in a state for publication, and as large an amount of his correspondence as can be procured. In the mean time, we learn with pleasure that it is intended by some of our own booksellers to publish immediately a selection from his works in this city.

Although Sir James possessed a great aptitude and talent for literary composition, it is understood, notwithstanding, that the intellectual exercise in which he most delighted was conversation. This was probably the field in which he exhibited his fine powers and various learning with more satisfaction to himself than in any other; and it must be owned, that for those who are capable of it, the pleasure of animated and intellectual conversation is hardly inferior to the high excitement of public speaking, and very far beyond the solitary delights of the pen.

Sir James was regarded, by the elevated and brilliant circle with which he was connected, as the great living master of moral and political philosophy; and delivered his oracles at the dinner table or in the fashionable saloon, with the authority, and nearly the power, but without the rudeness of the great moralist of the preceding generation, whose savage deportment excluded him from polished society.* Sir James was remark-

* The writer of this article had the honor of a personal introduction to Sir James Mackintosh, while on a visit to London, in the year 1817, and, during that and some other subsequent visits, enjoyed a good deal of his society. He was much struck with the copiousness, elegance, originality and point of Sir James's conversation, and made a memorandum, at the time, of a few of his remarks, which, with some omissions, is here inserted.

'Shakspeare, Milton, Locke and Newton, are four names beyond competition superior to any that the continent can put against them.—It was a proof of singular and very graceful modesty in Gray, that after bestowing upon Shakspeare a high eulogium in the Progress of Poetry, he did not, when proceeding to the character of Milton, rashly decide upon their relative merit. Every half-read critic affirms at once, according to his peculiar taste or the caprice of the moment, that one or the other is the superior poet; but when Gray comes to Milton, he only says,—

> "*Nor second* he that rode sublime
> Upon the seraph wings of ecstacy."

'Dryden he assigns to an inferior class,—

> "Behold where Dryden's less presumptuous car,
> Wide o'er the fields of glory bear
> Two coursers of inferior race," &c.'

The writer observed that the German critics call Dryden a man walking upon stilts in a marsh.—*Sir James*—'Depend upon it, they do not understand the language.—Shakspeare's great superiority over other writers consists in his deep knowledge of human nature. Châteaubriand says of him, '*Il a souvent des mots terribles.*' It has been thought by some that those observations upon human nature which appear so profound and remarkable, may, after all, lie nearest to the surface, and be taken up most naturally by the early writers in every language; but we do not find them in Homer. Homer is the finest ballad writer in any language. The flow and fullness of his style is beautiful; but he has nothing of the deep, piercing observation of Shakspeare.'

The writer mentioned that he had been at St. Paul's, and spoke of the statues of Johnson, Sir William Jones, and others that he had seen there. *Sir James*—'It is a noble edifice, to be sure, and we have some great men there; but it would be too much to expect that the glory of the second temple should equal that of the first. One country is not sufficient for two such repositories as Westminster Abbey.—Boswell's Life of Johnson has given a wrong impression of him in

able, on the contrary, for the affability and ease of his manners. His moral qualities corresponded very well with the elevation of his intellectual character. His feelings were naturally lofty and generous. He drew from his own consciousness that

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some respects. When we see four large volumes written upon a man's conversation, through a period of forty years, and his remarks alone set down, of all those made at the time, we naturally take the idea that Johnson was the central point of society for all that period. The truth is, he never was in good society; at least in those circles where men of letters mix with the fashionable world. His brutal, intolerant manners excluded him from it, of course. He met good society, to be sure, at the Literary Club and at Sir Joshua Reynolds's.—Gibbon was asked why he did not talk more in the presence of Dr. Johnson. "Sir," replied the historian, taking a pinch of snuff, "I have no pretensions to the ability of contending with Dr. Johnson in brutality and insolence."

'Sir William Jones was not a man of first-rate talent,—he had great facility of acquisition, but not a mind of the highest order. Reason and imagination are the two great intellectual faculties, and he was certainly not pre-eminent in either. His poetry is indifferent, and his other writings are agreeable, but not profound. He was, however, a most amiable and excellent man.'

Speaking of the poets of the day, Sir James observed,—'I very much doubt whether Scott will survive long. Hitherto nothing has stood the test of time, but labored and finished verse, and of this Scott has none. If I were to say which of the poets of the day is most likely to be read hereafter, I should give my opinion in favor of some of Campbell's poems. Scott, however, has a wonderful fertility and vivacity.' It may be proper to add that the allusion is here exclusively to the poetry of Scott. The Waverley novels were not generally attributed to him at the time when the remark was made.

'Rogers's Pleasures of Memory has one good line,—

"The only pleasures we can call our own."

It is remarkable that this poem is very popular. A new edition of it is printed every year. It brings the author in about 200*l.* per annum, and yet its principal merit is its finished, perfect versification, which one would think the people could hardly enjoy. The subject, however, recommends itself very much to all classes of readers.'

The writer commended highly the language of Sir William Scott's opinions. *Sir James*—'There is a little too much elegance for judicial *dicta*, and a little unfairness in always attempting to found the judgment upon the circumstances of the case, perhaps slight ones, rather than general principles. Sir William is one of the most entertaining men to be met with in society. His style is by no means so pure and classical as that of Blackstone, which is one of the finest models in the English language. Middleton and he are the two best in their way of the writers of their period. Middleton's Free Inquiry is an instance of great prudence and moderation in drawing conclusions respecting particular facts from general principles.

conviction of the reality of benevolent sentiments, which, as we shall presently see, he has so well expressed in the work before us. He wanted the restless activity which prompts some men to constant exertion, and the steady prudence which

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His premises would have carried him much further than he has gone. There are many fine passages in his Life of Cicero.'

Sir James said that he had received from Mr. Wortman a collection of specimens of American eloquence, and that Mr. Wortman had given it as his opinion, that the faculty of eloquence was more general in America than in England, though some individual Englishmen might perhaps possess it in a higher degree. The writer remarked that he thought our best orators but little inferior to the best orators of the present day in England; and mentioned Mr. Otis, Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Pinkney. *Sir James*—'I have not seen any of Mr. Otis's speeches. I have read some of Randolph's, but the effect must depend very much on the manner. There is a good deal of vulgar finery. Malice there is, too, but that would be excusable, provided it were in good taste.—

'Mr. Adams's Defence of the Constitution is not a first-rate work. He lays too much stress upon the examples of small and insignificant States, and looks too much at the external form of governments, which is, in general, a very indifferent criterion of their character. His fundamental principle of securing government, by a balance of power between two houses and an executive, does not strike me as very just or important. It is a mere puerility to suppose that three branches, and no more nor less, are essential to political salvation. In this country, where there are nominally three branches, the real sovereignty resides in the House of Commons. Two branches are no doubt expedient, as far as they induce deliberation and mature judgment on the measures proposed.'

The writer mentioned Mr. Adams's opinion, (as expressed in a letter to Dr. Price) that the French Revolution failed because the legislative body consisted of one branch, and not two. *Sir James*—'That circumstance may have precipitated matters a little, but the degraded situation of the *Tiers Etat* was the principal cause of the failure. The entire separation in society between the *noblesse* and the professions destroyed the respectability of the latter, and deprived them in a great degree of popular confidence. In England, eminent and successful professional men rise to an equality in importance and rank with the first nobles, take by much the larger share in the government, and bring with them to it the confidence of the people. This will forever prevent any popular revolution in the country.—The Federalist is a well written work.—

'The remarkable private morality of the New England States is worth attention, especially when taken in connexion with the very moral character of the poorer people in Scotland, Holland and Switzerland. It is rather singular that all these countries, which are more moral than any others, are precisely those in which *Calvinism* is predominant.' The writer mentioned that Boston and Cambridge had in a great measure abandoned Calvinism. *Sir James*—'I am rather surprised at that;

leads them to husband regularly, with strict economy, the fruits of their labors. Had he combined these humbler virtues with his higher endowments, his lot in life would have probably been somewhat different. It was, however, a sufficiently

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but the same thing has happened in other places similarly situated. Boston, Geneva and Edinburgh might once have been considered as the three high places of Calvinism, and the enemy is now, it seems, in full possession of them all. The fact appears to be a consequence of the principle of reaction, which operates as universally in the moral as in the physical world.—Jonathan Edwards was a man of great merit. His Treatise on the Will is a most profound and acute disquisition. The English Calvinists have produced nothing to be put in competition with it. He was one of the greatest men who have owned the authority of Calvin, and there have been a great many. Calvin himself had a very strong and acute mind.—Sir Henry Vane was one of the most profound minds that ever existed, not inferior, perhaps, to Bacon. Milton has a fine sonnet addressed to him,—

"Vane, young in years, in sage experience old."

His works, which are theological, are extremely rare, and display astonishing powers. They are remarkable as containing the first direct assertion of the liberty of conscience. He was put to death in a most perfidious manner. I am proud, as a friend of liberty, and as an Englishman, of the men that resisted the tyranny of Charles I. Even when they went to excess, and put to death the king, they did it in a much more decorous manner than their imitators in France. Thomson says of them, with great justice, in his florid way,—

"First at thy call, her age of men effulged," &c.

'Eloquence is the power of gaining your purpose by words. All the labored definitions of it to be found in the different rhetorical works amount in substance to this. It does not, therefore, require or admit the strained and false ornaments that are taken for it by some. I hate these artificial flowers without fragrance or fitness. Nobody ever succeeded in this way but Burke. Fox used to say, "I cannot bear this thing in any body but Burke, and he cannot help it. It is his natural manner."—Sir Francis Burdett is one of the best of our speakers, take him altogether, voice, figure and manner. His voice is the best that can be imagined. As to his matter, he certainly speaks above his mind. He is not a man of very superior talents, though respectable.—Plunkett, if he had come earlier into Parliament, so as to have learned the trade, would probably have excelled all our orators. He and counsellor Phillips (or O'Garnish, as he is nicknamed here,) are at the opposite points of the scale. O'Garnish's style is pitiful to the last degree. He ought by common consent to be driven from the bar.—Mr. Wilberforce's voice is beautiful; his manner mild and perfectly natural. He has no artificial ornament; but an easy, natural image occasionally springs up in his mind that pleases very much.—Cicero's orations are a good deal in the flowery, artificial manner, though the best specimens in their way. We

enviable one. He ranked with the highest class of England's intellectual peerage, and possessed the richest of all treasures in a heart overflowing with benevolent affections. Without affectation or fanaticism, he was sincerely and deeply religious. If there be,—as we all believe and hope,—another and a better world, where the wise and good repose together from the troubles of this, we cannot doubt that Mackintosh is now among its favored tenants,—enjoying the communion of the high and gifted minds whom he always so much loved and admired, the Platos, the Stewarts, the Burkes, the Ciceros, —and dwelling in the nearer presence of that Sublime Spirit, whose ineffable glories he has so eloquently though faintly shadowed forth in so many splendid passages of his writings. If his friends lament the change, it must be for their sakes, and not for his.

'If that high world that lies beyond
Our own, *surviving Love endears*,
If there the cherished heart be fond,
The eye the same, excepting tears,
How welcome those untrodden spheres!
How sweet this very hour to die!
To soar from earth, and find all fears
Lost in thy light, Eternity!'

Having taken this hasty survey of the political and literary

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tire in reading them. Cicero, though a much greater man than Demosthenes, take him altogether, was inferior to him as an orator. To be the second orator the world has produced is, however, praise enough.—Pascal was a prodigy. His *Pensées* are wonderfully profound and acute. Though predicated on his peculiar way of thinking, they are not on that account to be condemned. I dislike the illiberality of some of my liberal friends, who will not allow any merit to any thing that does not agree with their own point of view. Making allowance for Pascal's way of looking at things, and expressing himself, his ideas are prodigiously deep and correct.—Most of the apparent absurdities in theology and metaphysics are important truths, exaggerated and disfigured by an incorrect manner of understanding or expressing them; as, for instance, the doctrines of transubstantiation and of total depravity.—Jacob Bryant was a miserable writer, though for particular purposes it was thought expedient at one time to sustain his reputation. He was guilty of a gross absurdity in attempting such a work as his principal one without any oriental learning, which he did not even profess. Yet Sir William Jones called him the principal writer of his time. This opinion quite takes away the value of Sir William's critical judgment.'

career of Sir James Mackintosh, we proceed to notice in the concise form which alone the space remaining to us will now permit, the work before us.

The first question in the theory of Ethics, is that which arises between those who admit, and those who deny the reality of moral distinctions. This was almost the only one agitated in the ancient schools of philosophy. Socrates, who is known to us by the charming dialogues of Plato and Xenophon, assumed the reality of virtue and illustrated its beauty, without engaging in any metaphysical speculations upon its nature. The Stoics, with some variations of form, pursued substantially the same course. Epicurus, on the other hand, denied the reality of virtue, and placed the only principle of action in pleasure. His followers in modern times, from Gassendi and Hobbes to Bentham, have professed the same theory. With them there is of course no question about the nature of a distinction, which they do not believe to exist. To those who admit the reality of moral distinctions, the further questions arise, In what do they consist; and by what faculties do we take cognizance of them? A correct solution of these questions would furnish the leading points in the theory of morals. None has yet been offered which has commanded the general assent of enlightened men; and strange as it may seem, the theory of this first and most important of all the sciences is yet unsettled. The history of Ethical Philosophy is therefore the history of the attempts which have been made,—thus far without success,—to solve the great problems alluded to above.

In the work before us, which was prepared as a preliminary dissertation to one of the volumes of the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, Sir James Mackintosh begins by briefly stating, in two introductory chapters, the objects of Ethical Science and the difficulties that are encountered in the prosecution of it. He then, in two more chapters, takes a hasty retrospect of the history of the Ethical Philosophy of the ancients and of the moderns, after which, he proceeds to the principal subject of the work, which is the history of philosophy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The subject divides itself into three principal parts.

1. The revival of the Epicurean doctrine by Hobbes and his followers, of whom the principal were Hume, the French metaphysicians, and Bentham.

2. The attempt of Cudworth and Clarke to found the reali-

ty of moral distinctions on a natural *fitness of things* cognizable by the understanding; and,

3. The attempts of various philosophers, from Shaftesbury to Stewart, including particularly Hutcheson and Butler, to prove the existence of a *moral sense* or feeling, by which we naturally and without any exercise of the understanding distinguish the right and wrong of actions, as we distinguish colors by the eye, and sounds by the ear.

The most natural mode of arranging the matter would perhaps have been to class together the writers who have respectively favored each of these different systems. Sir James has however not adopted this method, but has followed a strictly chronological one, beginning with Hobbes, and taking up the following writers in the order of time in which they wrote, without regard to their opinions. At the close of his summary of the opinions of each of the principal writers, he annexes his own observations on them, under the head of *Remarks*. In these remarks, he states and concisely developes a theory upon the general principles of Ethical Philosophy, which, if not entirely original, has never been proposed before in precisely the same form. The work bears throughout the marks of hasty preparation, and is no doubt chargeable with great deficiencies. The most remarkable of these is the absence of any notice of the ethical theories of the modern Germans, for which Sir James apologises on the ground of want of time and room. Probably his acquaintance with this branch of the subject was hardly sufficient to have enabled him to treat it satisfactorily to himself or the public. The omission is, however, fatal to the value of the work as a complete treatise, since the German branch of the subject is unquestionably the most important of all. The French writers are also passed over almost without notice. The work is, in fact, a view of the progress of Philosophy in England, and does not include a more copious notice of foreigners than would probably have been introduced, had it been professedly confined to the author's country. This would perhaps have been the fairer and more judicious course. Even when considered as thus limited, the subject is still treated in a very concise way, the work being, as it is entitled, merely a general view.

Notwithstanding these deficiencies, it will be read with deep interest by students of moral science, and by all who take an interest in the higher departments of intellectual research, or enjoy the beauties of elegant language applied to the illustra-

tion of 'divine philosophy.' It gives us, on an important branch of the most important of the sciences, the reflections of one of the few master minds, that are fitted by original capacity and patient study to probe it to the bottom. It is highly interesting, whether we agree with him or not, to know the opinions of such a man upon the character of the principal ethical writers and upon the leading principles of the science. These opinions are exhibited with every advantage of language and manner. It is difficult to imagine how the union of power, dignity and grace, which may be supposed to constitute a finished style, can be carried further than it is in the writings of Sir James Mackintosh. The moral tone is also of the purest and most agreeable kind. The work breathes throughout a temperate enthusiasm in the cause of humanity, and a spirit of perfect toleration for opposite opinions, even of an exceptionable cast. The author asserts the reality of benevolent affections, and proves their existence in his own heart by exercising charity towards those who differ from him even on vital questions. He condemns the heresy, but gives the heretic full credit, as far as it seems to be deserved, for sincerity and talents. He exercises also the—if possible—still more rare and difficult justice of a full, manly and generous acknowledgment of kindred merit in others. He does not labor under the impression, so natural to ambitious mediocrity, that every word of praise bestowed upon another, is a leaf of laurel torn from his own garland. He enlarges with an overflowing fullness of heart, we may say, even to exaggeration, upon the merits of contemporaries. Under the influence of this generous and amiable impulse, he has probably overrated the deserts of Bentham, Brown and Stewart. But how much more noble is an error of this kind, than the petty jealousy which can see nothing in living excellence of any kind but an object of attack, as the wasp approaches the fairest fruits only for the purpose of piercing them to the core! It is indeed refreshing and delightful, to find one of the most powerful minds of the age uniting the best feelings with the highest gifts of intellect, and exemplifying in his own person the moral graces which he undertakes to teach. Such examples justify the more honorable view of human nature, and prove that the selfish and vicious, who habitually deny the reality of benevolence and virtue, draw a false general conclusion from their own individual case; forgetting that their consciousness gives them no authority except to 'speak for themselves.'

The form of the work is, therefore, such as will recommend it very strongly to the general reader, and will render it a useful and delightful study even to those who habitually take no interest in metaphysical researches. In the few observations which we propose to add upon the substance, we shall first notice some of the remarks of the author upon the theories of other writers, and conclude by a brief examination of his own.

In entering on the field of inquiry which properly belongs to his subject, Sir James encounters at the threshold the startling paradoxes of the well-known philosopher of Malmesbury, Hobbes.—If the works of writers of eminence were examined with reference to their personal history, it would probably be found that their peculiarities, whether of style or doctrine, are, —more frequently than we should perhaps imagine,—the results, in one form or another, of their own personal experience, and are of course very much colored by the circumstances under which they happened to live. The philosophy of Hobbes seems to have been a reaction against the wild excesses of the popular revolution that occurred in England in the seventeenth century. Alarmed at the horrors that were perpetrated by his countrymen as soon as they had shaken off the restraint of royal authority, Hobbes embraced the idea that the law, as proclaimed by government, is the only source of moral distinctions. If it be right to pay a debt, and wrong to commit murder, it is, according to Hobbes, only because one of these actions is commanded and the other prohibited by law. The disgust which he felt at the political forms under which the excesses of the Commonwealth had been committed, produced in his mind a preference for absolute monarchy, which was his system in politics; and the fanatical fury of the British reformers led him to adopt the notion that religion, as well as morals, ought to be entirely under the control of government. He denied the reality of benevolent affections, and considered personal pleasure or advantage as the only imaginable motive of action. Such were the leading points of his theory, which he proclaimed with a confidence that arrested the public attention, and an elegance of language that enlisted the public taste on his side. The style of Hobbes is thus characterized by our author.

'A permanent foundation of his fame consists in his admirable style, which seems to be the very perfection of didactic language. Short, clear, precise, pithy, his language never has more than

one meaning, which it never requires a second thought to find. By the help of his exact method, it takes so firm a hold on the mind, that it will not allow attention to slacken. His little tract on *Human Nature* has scarcely an ambiguous or a needless word. He has so great a power of always choosing the most significant term, that he never is reduced to the poor expedient of using many in its stead. He had so thoroughly studied the genius of the language, and knew so well how to steer between pedantry and vulgarity, that two centuries have not superannuated probably more than a dozen of his words. His expressions are so luminous, that he is clear without the help of illustration. Perhaps no writer of any age or nation, on subjects so abstruse, has manifested an equal power of engraving his thoughts on the minds of his readers. He seems never to have taken a word for ornament or pleasure; and he deals with eloquence and poetry, as the natural philosopher who explains the mechanism of children's toys, or deigns to contrive them. Yet his style so stimulates attention, that it never tires; and to those who are acquainted with the subject, appears to have as much spirit as can be safely blended with reason. He compresses his thoughts so unaffectedly, and yet so tersely, as to produce occasionally maxims which excite the same agreeable surprise with wit, and have become a sort of philosophical proverbs; the success of which he partly owed to the suitableness of such forms of expression to his dictatorial nature. His words have such an appearance of springing from his thoughts, as to impress on the reader a strong opinion of his originality, and indeed to prove that he was not conscious of borrowing; though conversation with Gassendi must have influenced his mind; and it is hard to believe that his coincidence with Ockham should have been purely accidental, on points so important as the denial of general ideas, the reference of moral distinctions to superior power, and the absolute thraldom of religion under the civil power, which he seems to have thought necessary, to maintain that independence of the state on the church with which Ockham had been contented.'

The tremendous paradoxes of Hobbes excited a strong sensation throughout Europe, and have given occasion, directly or indirectly, to most of the works that have since appeared on Ethical Science. Sir Robert Filmer, Harrington, Clarendon, Bishop Cumberland, Cudworth, Clarke, Shaftesbury, Baxter and Hutcheson, all undertook to refute him with different weapons, and for different immediate purposes. The great work of Cudworth, entitled the *Intellectual System*, was written as an answer to Hobbes, but it was directed against his

theological and metaphysical, rather than his ethical theories. The notions of Cudworth on the last subject were explained in several essays which he left in manuscript, and of which one only, the *Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality*, has been published. The rest (not much to the credit of British taste and liberality) are still locked up in the repositories of the British museum. In the Immutable Morality, Cudworth gives the introduction only to his ethical system, in which he describes the distinction between right and wrong, as inherent in nature, and independent of any power whether human or divine. 'The distinction of right from wrong is discerned by reason; and as soon as these words are defined, it becomes evident that it would be a contradiction in terms to affirm that any power, human or divine, could change their nature, or in other words make the same act just and unjust, at the same time. They had existed eternally in the only mode in which truths can be said to be eternal, in the Eternal Mind, and they are indestructible and unchangeable, like that superior intelligence.'

The system of Clarke seems to be substantially the same with that of Cudworth, as far as we can judge of the latter from the imperfect development of it in the Immutable Morality. Clarke maintains that the law of nature consists of the relations established by nature among the individual beings composing the universe, and that human actions are right or wrong, accordingly as they conform to or disagree with these relations. Thus the relation existing by nature between parents and children is that of love, or in other words, parents naturally love their children and children their parents. A conduct conformable to this relation is right, and one opposed to it is wrong. The ideas of the relations which constitute the law of nature, existed eternally in the Divine Mind. God, for example, foreknew from eternity that the relation of love would naturally exist between parents and children, whenever the human race should be created. There is therefore an original and eternal *fitness* in a conduct conformable to this relation. This fitness creates an *obligation* independent of the will of God, or of the effect of the action upon the welfare either of the agent or of the public. Reason acknowledges the obligation, and decides that there is the same absurdity in an action which contradicts this natural *fitness of things*, as there is in a proposition that contradicts the ordinary relations of numbers, or the evidence of the senses.

Such appears to be the general outline of the theory of Clarke; and so far as it assumes that the essential characteristic of virtue is conformity to the law of nature, we consider him as stating a true and important principle. Sir James Mackintosh takes exception to this doctrine. 'The murderer,' he observes, 'who poisons by arsenic, acts agreeably to his knowledge of the power of that substance to kill, which is a relation between two things, as much as the physician, who employs an emetic after the poison, acts upon the belief of the tendency of that remedy to preserve life, which is another relation between two things.' With submission to Sir James's authority, we must needs say, that this objection appears to us to be but little better than a quibble. The murderer takes away life; the physician preserves it. The question is, whether their acts are respectively conformable or opposed to the relation naturally existing between the agent and the person acted on. Whether they conform to or contradict other relations between other persons or things, such as that between certain mineral substances and the human stomach, is entirely foreign to the purpose, or rather is a wholly absurd inquiry which admits of no answer. It might be argued with more plausibility, that the murderer, or in general any person who commits an immoral action, must act under the influence of some motive, which is of course the result of some of the natural relations in which he is placed; and that if he violates one law he obeys another. If, for example, I steal the property of my neighbor, in order to increase my own personal gratifications, I obey the law of nature, which leads me to seek my personal gratifications; and the act, though immoral, is still conformable to a law of my nature. But the ready answer to this is, that the action, so far as it conforms to the law of nature, is not vicious. Considered merely as an attempt to increase my own personal gratifications, its character is innocent. The immorality lies in doing this at the expense of the happiness of another, and the action, considered in its operation upon the happiness of this other person,—under which view alone it is immoral,—does violate the law of nature which has established among men the relation of society, and the kindly feelings that belong to it.

The main principle of Clarke, viz.—that the essential characteristic of virtue is conformity to the law of nature, seems to us, therefore, substantially correct as well as highly important, and it is, as we conceive, not affected by the objections of

Sir James Mackintosh. The other part of the theory of Clarke, viz. that the obligation to obey the law of nature results from the fact that the ideas of the relations which compose it have existed from all eternity in the mind of the Deity, seems to us to be much less plausible. We see not why we are bound to obey a law because it was foreseen by God, before such a law existed, that it would exist at a future period. The divine foreknowledge of the law of nature,—which we of course believe as a fact,—has nothing to do with the obligation we are under to obey this law. We are bound to obey the law of nature, not because the Deity foresaw, but because he established it. Every being, animate or inanimate, physical or moral, must of necessity obey the law of its nature; that is, it must exist and act in the way in which God intended that it should exist and act, and not in any other. The necessity of obeying the physical laws of nature is physical and absolute; that of obeying the moral laws of nature is simply moral. We have the physical power of violating them; but even while we are in the act of doing this, the law still retains its empire over us, and punishes us for the act we are committing, by inflicting upon us the painful feelings, that are by the will of Providence naturally connected with the violation of it. The will of God is, therefore, the real source of moral obligation.

Sir James Mackintosh, in several passages of the work before us, denies this principle as maintained by some preceding writers, and appears to regard it as of a dangerous and even irreligious character. 'The doctrine of Ockham,' he observes, in allusion to this principle, 'which by necessary implication refuses moral attributes to the Deity, and contradicts the existence of a moral government, is practically equivalent to atheism. As all devotional feelings have moral qualities for their sole object; as no being can inspire love or reverence otherwise than by those qualities which are naturally amiable and venerable, this doctrine would, if men were consistent, extinguish piety, or, in other words, annihilate religion. Yet so astonishing are the contradictions of human nature, that this *most impious of all opinions* probably originated in a pious solicitude to magnify the sovereignty of God, and to exalt his authority even above his own goodness. Hence we may understand its adoption by John Gerson, the Oracle of the Council of Constance, and the great opponent of the

spiritual monarchy of the Pope, a pious mystic, who placed religion in devout feeling.' Sir James Mackintosh elsewhere describes the same principle as a *monstrous position* and *the most pernicious of all moral heresies.* It is remarkable that he applies to an opinion which, whatever he may have supposed to be implied in it, is at least apparently respectful to religion, and which has been and is entertained by the most learned and pious men, a more severe censure than he has any where bestowed upon avowed atheism.

The feeling that prompted these remarks seems to have been excited by the injudicious manner, in which some writers have attempted to illustrate the doctrine in question. Ockham, for example, as quoted by Sir James, affirms that 'if God had commanded his creatures to hate himself, the hatred of God would be the duty of man.' This no doubt is revolting enough: but the error lies in the supposition of fact, which is incoherent and absurd. The principle implied, that it is the duty of man to do the will of God, instead of being, as Sir James represents it, a monstrous position, is one of the most familiar truisms of natural and revealed religion. It is evident, in fact, that there are only two possible suppositions in regard to the economy of the universe; one, that it exists *of necessity* as it is, which is atheism; the other, that it is the work of a Supreme Intelligent Principle. If the latter be true,—as we all believe,—then it is not less evident that the laws which regulate the movements and actions of the beings composing this universe, and which we commonly call the *law of nature*, are merely an expression of the will of God. When Sir James tells us that 'the relations of things, though conceived by the Eternal Mind, are, if such inadequate language may be pardoned, the law of his will as well as the model of his works,' we must be permitted to say that his language, though certainly not so intended by its illustrious author, is not merely inadequate, but irreverent and absurd; obnoxious in fact to the precise objection which he makes himself to the opposite opinion, to wit, that it is equivalent to atheism. To say that the relations of things as they now exist were a law to the will of God, is to say, in other words, that God was under the *necessity* of creating the universe in the form in which it now exists, and in no other. But if the universe exist of necessity as it is, the intervention of a Supreme Intelligent Principle as its Creator,

Lawgiver, and Preserver, becomes superfluous, and in good philosophy cannot be admitted. The supposition is therefore, as we have said, equivalent to atheism.

We shall not at present enlarge upon this subject, which is of too transcendant and sacred a character to be treated cursorily in connexion with other topics. The question lies at the bottom of Ethics, and though satisfactorily answered in general terms by various writers, has not yet, we think, been thoroughly examined and illustrated in a scientific way. An inquiry into it, conducted in a proper spirit and with the necessary talent and research, would tend very strongly to settle the now disputed foundations of the theory of morals.

The system of Clarke, which places the essence of virtue in conformity to the law of nature,—supposing it to be correct, which Sir James denies,—is yet, as he justly remarks, defective and incomplete, inasmuch as it omits entirely the consideration of *feeling*. The existence of *moral sentiments* is one of the most certain and obvious facts in our constitution; and these must be explained and accounted for in every complete and consistent ethical system. The deficiency of Clarke and his followers in this respect was supplied by Shaftesbury, Butler, Hutcheson, and the subsequent writers who maintain the theory of a *moral sense*,—a term which was first introduced by Hutcheson. This theory supposes the existence of a distinct faculty, entirely independent of the understanding or the affections, by which we recognize moral distinctions. Sir James adopts this supposition under a form in some degree peculiar to himself, upon which we shall presently make some remarks. Our limits will not permit us to follow him in detail through his commentaries on all the writers alluded to. They will be found uniformly instructive and entertaining.

Of President Edwards he speaks in the following terms.

'This remarkable man, the metaphysician of America, was formed among the Calvinists of New England, when their stern doctrine retained its rigorous authority. His power of subtile argument, perhaps unmatched, certainly unsurpassed among men, was joined, as in some of the ancient Mystics, with a character which raised his piety to fervor. He embraced their doctrine, probably without knowing it to be theirs. "True religion," says he, "in a great measure consists in holy affections. A love of divine things, for the beauty and sweetness of their moral

excellency, is the spring of all holy affections." Had he suffered this noble principle to take the right road to all its fair consequences, he would have entirely concurred with Plato, with Shaftesbury, and Malebranche, in devotion to "the first good, first perfect, and first fair."'

The passage here quoted from Edwards seems to have made a deep impression upon Sir James's mind. We remember to have heard him cite it in conversation, with the strongest expressions of approbation. It is certainly one of the most eloquent and beautiful enunciations of religious truth to be found in the language. In general the style of Edwards is uncommonly good, and when his subject affords opportunity for the display of such qualities, will be found to be in a high degree impressive and eloquent. His merit in this respect is, we incline to think, not generally appreciated at the present day in this country. We should regard it as one symptom of a favorable change in the public taste, to learn that his works were more generally read, and more highly valued than they are now.

Berkeley, the good and great Bishop of Cloyne, is a particular favorite of our author, who commences his account of him in the following terms.

'This great metaphysician was so little a moralist, that it requires the attraction of his name to excuse its introduction here. His *Theory of Vision* contains a great discovery in mental philosophy. His immaterialism is chiefly valuable as a touchstone of metaphysical sagacity; showing those to be altogether without it, who, like Johnson and Beattie, believed that his speculations were sceptical, that they implied any distrust in the senses, or that they had the smallest tendency to disturb reasoning or alter conduct. Ancient learning, exact science, polished society, modern literature, and the fine arts, contributed to adorn and enrich the mind of this accomplished man. All his contemporaries agreed with the satirist in ascribing

"To Berkeley every virtue under heaven."

Adverse factions and hostile wits concurred only in loving, admiring, and contributing to advance him. The severe sense of Swift endured his visions; the modest Addison endeavored to reconcile Clarke to his ambitious speculations. His character converted the satire of Pope into fervid praise. Even the dis-

cerning, fastidious, and turbulent Atterbury said, after an interview with him, "So much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels, till I saw this gentleman." "Lord Bathurst told me, that the Members of the Scriblerus Club being met at his house at dinner, they agreed to rally Berkeley, who was also his guest, on his scheme at Bermudas. Berkeley, having listened to the many lively things they had to say, begged to be heard in his turn, and displayed his plan with such an astonishing and animating force of eloquence and enthusiasm, that they were struck dumb, and after some pause, rose all up together, with earnestness exclaiming, "Let us set out with him immediately." It was when thus beloved and celebrated that he conceived, at the age of forty-five, the design of devoting his life to reclaim and convert the natives of North America; and he employed as much influence and solicitation as common men do for their most prized objects, in obtaining leave to resign his dignities and revenues, to quit his accomplished and affectionate friends, and to bury himself in what must have seemed an intellectual desert. After four years' residence at Newport in Rhode Island, he was compelled, by the refusal of Government to furnish him with funds for his College, to forego his work of heroic, or rather godlike benevolence; though not without some consoling forethought of the fortune of the country where he had sojourned.

> "Westward the course of empire takes its way;
> The first four acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
> TIME'S NOBLEST OFFSPRING IS ITS LAST."

Thus disappointed in his ambition of keeping a school for savage children, at a salary of a hundred pounds by the year, he was received, on his return, with open arms by the philosophical queen, at whose metaphysical parties he made one with Sherlock, who, as well as Smalridge, was his supporter, and with Hoadley, who, following Clarke, was his antagonist. By her influence he was made bishop of Cloyne.

'Of the exquisite grace and beauty of his diction, no man accustomed to English composition can need to be informed. His works are, beyond dispute, the finest models of philosophical style since Cicero. Perhaps they surpass those of the orator, in the wonderful art by which the fullest light is thrown on the most minute and evanescent parts of the most subtile of human conceptions. Perhaps he also surpassed Cicero in the charm of simplicity, a quality eminently found in Irish writers before the end

of the eighteenth century; conspicuous in the masculine severity of Swift, in the Platonic fancy of Berkeley, in the native tenderness and elegance of Goldsmith, and not withholding its attractions from Hutcheson and Leland, writers of classical taste, though of inferior power. The two Irish philosophers of the eighteenth century may be said to have co-operated in calling forth the metaphysical genius of Scotland; for though Hutcheson spread the taste, and furnished the principles, yet Berkeley undoubtedly produced the scepticism of Hume, which stimulated the instinctive school to activity, and was thought incapable of confutation, otherwise than by their doctrines.'

Butler, Hume, Adam Smith, Hartley and Paley are successively treated at considerable length, and in a very interesting way. The mere mention of their names will be sufficient to prepare the intelligent reader for the rich entertainment, which he will derive from Sir James's account of them. In his observations on the errors of Hume, Hartley and Paley, he is perhaps rather too lenient; but he shows no disposition to adopt them, and charity towards opponents is so rare a quality in controversy, that we can hardly bring ourselves to blame it even in its excess. We quote from the remarks on Abraham Tucker, the eccentric author of 'The Light of Nature Pursued, by Edward Search, 'the following passage.

'It has been the remarkable fortune of this writer to have been more prized by the cultivators of the same subjects, and more disregarded by the generality even of those who read books on such matters, than perhaps any other philosopher. He had many of the qualities which might be expected in an affluent country gentleman, living in a privacy undisturbed by political zeal, and with a leisure unbroken by the calls of a profession, at a time when England had not entirely renounced her old taste for metaphysical speculation. He was naturally endowed, not indeed with more than ordinary acuteness or sensibility, nor with a high degree of reach and range of mind, but with a singular capacity for careful observation and original reflection, and with a fancy perhaps unmatched in producing various and happy illustration. The most observable of his moral qualities appear to have been prudence and cheerfulness, good nature and easy temper. The influence of his situation and character is visible in his writings. Indulging his own tastes and fancies, like most English squires of his time, he became, like many of them, a sort of humorist. Hence much of his originality and independence; hence the boldness with which he openly employs illustrations from homely

objects. He wrote to please himself more than the public. He had too little regard for readers, either to sacrifice his sincerity to them, or to curb his own prolixity, repetition and egotism, from the fear of fatiguing them. Hence he became as loose, as rambling, and as much an egotist as Montaigne; but not so agreeably so, notwithstanding a considerable resemblance of genius; because he wrote on subjects where disorder and egotism are unseasonable, and for readers whom they disturb instead of amusing. His prolixity at last increased itself, when his work became so long, that repetition in the latter parts partly arose from forgetfulness of the former; and though his freedom from slavish deference to general opinion is very commendable, it must be owned, that his want of a wholesome fear of the public renders the perusal of a work which is extremely interesting, and even amusing in most of its parts, on the whole a laborious task. He was by early education a believer in Christianity, if not by natural character religious. His calm good sense and accommodating temper led him rather to explain established doctrines in a manner agreeable to his philosophy, than to assail them. Hence he was represented as a time-server by free-thinkers, and as a heretic by the orthodox. Living in a country, where the secure tranquillity flowing from the Revolution was gradually drawing forth all mental activity towards practical pursuits and outward objects, he hastened from the rudiments of mental and moral philosophy, to those branches of it which touch the business of men. Had he recast without changing his thoughts,—had he detached those ethical observations for which he had so peculiar a vocation, from the disputes of his country and his day,—he might have thrown many of his chapters into their proper form of essays, which might have been compared, though not likened, to those of Hume. But the country gentleman, philosophic as he was, had too much fondness for his own humors to engage in a course of drudgery and deference. It may, however, be confidently added, on the authority of all those who have fairly made the experiment, that whoever, unfettered by a previous system, undertakes the labor necessary to discover and relish the high excellencies of this metaphysical Montaigne, will find his toil lightened as he proceeds, by a growing indulgence, if not partiality, for the foibles of the humorist; and at last rewarded, in a greater degree perhaps than by any other writer on mixed and applied philosophy, by being led to commanding stations and new points of view, whence the mind of a moralist can hardly fail to catch some fresh prospects of nature and duty.'

The articles on Bentham, Stewart and Brown are the longest and most elaborate in the work. They will amply

reward the closest attention. The following remarks on the style of Stewart are equally just and beautiful. They furnish the charming spectacle of one master in the art of eloquence, enlarging with nice discrimination, and at the same time with a full and hearty good will, upon the kindred excellence of another. Such criticism not only improves the taste, but warms, exalts and mends the heart.

'Probably no modern ever exceeded him in that species of eloquence, which springs from sensibility to literary beauty and moral excellence; which neither obscures science by prodigal ornament, nor disturbs the serenity of patient attention; but though it rather calms and soothes the feelings, yet exalts the genius, and insensibly inspires a reasonable enthusiasm for whatever is good and fair.

'Amidst excellencies of the highest order, his writings, it must be confessed, leave some room for criticism. He took precautions against offence to the feelings of his contemporaries, more anxious and frequent than the impatient searcher for truth may deem necessary. For the sake of promoting the favorable reception of philosophy itself, he studies perhaps too visibly to avoid whatever might raise up prejudices against it. His gratitude and native modesty dictated a superabundant care in softening and excusing his dissent from those who had been his own instructers, or who were the objects of general reverence. Exposed by his station, both to the assaults of political prejudice, and to the religious animosities of a country where a few sceptics attacked the slumbering zeal of a Calvinistic people, it would have been wonderful if he had not betrayed more wariness than would have been necessary or becoming in a very different position. The fullness of his literature seduced him too much into multiplied illustrations. Too many of the expedients happily used to allure the young may unnecessarily swell his volumes. Perhaps a successive publication in separate parts made him more voluminous than he would have been, if the whole had been at once before his eyes. A peculiar susceptibility and delicacy of taste produced forms of expression, in themselves extremely beautiful, but of which the habitual use is not easily reconcilable with the condensation desirable in works necessarily so extensive. If, however, it must be owned that the caution incident to his temper, his feelings, his philosophy and his station, has somewhat lengthened his composition, it is not less true, that some of the same circumstances have contributed towards those peculiar beauties, which place him at the head of the most adorned writers on philosophy in our language.

'Few writers rise with more grace from a plain ground-work, to the passages which require greater animation or embellishment. He gives to narrative, according to the precept of Bacon, the color of the time, by a selection of happy expressions from original writers. Among the secret arts by which he diffuses elegance over his diction, may be remarked the skill which, by deepening or brightening a shade in a secondary term, by opening partial or preparatory glimpses of a thought to be afterwards unfolded, unobservedly heightens the import of a word, and gives it a new meaning, without any offence against old use. It is in this manner that philosophical originality may be reconciled to purity and stability of speech,—that we may avoid new terms, which are the easy resource of the unskilful or the indolent, and often a characteristic mark of writers who love their language too little to feel its peculiar excellencies, or to study the art of calling forth its powers.

'He reminds us not unfrequently of the character given by Cicero to one of his contemporaries, "who expressed refined and abstruse thought, in soft and transparent diction." His writings are a proof that the mild sentiments have their eloquence as well as the vehement passions. It would be difficult to name works in which so much refined philosophy is joined with so fine a fancy,—so much elegant literature, with such a delicate perception of the distinguishing excellencies of great writers, and with an estimate in general so just of the services rendered to knowledge by a succession of philosophers. They are pervaded by a philosophical benevolence, which keeps up the ardor of his genius, without disturbing the serenity of his mind,—which is felt in his reverence for knowledge, in the generosity of his praise, and in the tenderness of his censure. It is still more sensible in the general tone with which he relates the successful progress of the human understanding, among many formidable enemies. Those readers are not to be envied who limit their admiration to particular parts, or to excellencies merely literary, without being warmed by the glow of that honest triumph in the advancement of knowledge, and of that assured faith in the final prevalence of truth and justice, which breathe through every page of them, and give the unity and dignity of a moral purpose to the whole of these classical works.

'He has often quoted poetical passages, of which some throw much light on our mental operations. If he sometimes prized the moral common-places of Thomson and the speculative fancy of Akenside more highly than the higher poetry of their betters, it was not to be wondered at that the metaphysician and the moralist should sometimes prevail over the lover of poetry. His

natural sensibility was perhaps occasionally cramped by the cold criticism of an unpoetical age; and some of his remarks may be thought to indicate a more constant and exclusive regard to diction, than is agreeable to the men of a generation who have been trained by tremendous events to a passion for daring inventions, and to an irregular enthusiasm, impatient of minute elegancies and refinement. Many of those beauties, which his generous criticism delighted to magnify in the works of his contemporaries, have already faded under the scorching rays of a fiercer sun.'

In the concluding section of the work, Sir James states at some length his own views on the theory of moral science, which are more concisely intimated in several preceding passages. They are summarily recapitulated by himself in the following terms. 'Whatever actions and dispositions are approved by *Conscience*, acquire the name of virtues or duties; they are pronounced to deserve commendation; and we are justly considered as under a moral *obligation* to practise the action, and cultivate the dispositions.' In other words, we possess a distinct and separate Moral Faculty called Conscience, by which we take cognizance of moral distinctions; the characteristics of virtue and vice are, that they are the objects respectively of the favorable and unfavorable decisions of this Faculty, and these decisions we are under an obligation to obey. The nature of this obligation, Sir James no where precisely explains. These principles are not new, nor are they, we believe, supported in the present work by any original arguments. They are substantially the same with those of Stewart, and having had occasion to state our views respecting them somewhat at length in our examination of the Essays of that writer on the Active and Moral Powers of Man,* we deem it unnecessary to repeat them here.

There is, however, one important peculiarity in the views of Sir James Mackintosh, which it may be proper to notice. Stewart and most other writers, who adopt the theory of a Moral Sense or Faculty, consider it as a distinct and original part of our constitution, the germ of which, as of all the other principles of our nature, is born with us, and is gradually developed in the progress of our physical and intellectual culture. Mackintosh supposes, on the contrary, that Conscience or the Moral Faculty is not an original part of our constitution, but a 'secondary formation,' created at a later period of life by the effect of the Association of

* N. A. Review. Vol. XXXI. p. 213.

Ideas, out of a variety of elements existing in the mind. If we understand him rightly, the animal appetites are the only original elements of our constitution. By associating the pleasures we derive from the gratification of these with the persons about us who lend us their aid in gratifying them, we gradually acquire Social Feelings. The actions, whether our own or those of others, which tend to gratify the animal appetites and the social feelings thus formed out of them, of course give us pleasure, and are also recognized by the understanding as tending to promote the general good. These and a variety of other impressions that are made upon the mind by the observation of voluntary actions are gradually amalgamated into a new feeling, entirely distinct from any of the elements composing it, to which we give the name of *Moral Approbation;* and the mind, considered as having the capacity to exercise this new feeling in regard to voluntary actions, is said to possess a new and distinct power, which is called the Moral Faculty or Conscience. Such is a brief outline of Sir James's theory, as far as it is peculiar to himself and as we understand his language. We owe it to the reputation and authority of so distinguished a writer, to quote the most important passages in his own words.

'When the social affections are thus formed, they are naturally followed in every instance by the will to do whatever can promote their object. Compassion excites a voluntary determination to do whatever relieves the person pitied. The like process must occur in every case of gratitude, generosity, and affection. Nothing so uniformly follows the kind disposition as the act of will, because it is the only means by which the benevolent desire can be gratified. The result of what Brown justly calls "a finer analysis," shows a mental contiguity of the affection to the volition to be much closer than appears on a coarser examination of this part of our nature. No wonder, then, that the strongest association, the most active power of reciprocal suggestion, should subsist between them. As all the affections are delightful, so the volitions, voluntary acts, which are the only means of their gratification, become agreeable objects of contemplation to the mind. The habitual disposition to perform them is felt in ourselves, and observed in others, with satisfaction. As these feelings become more lively, the absence of them may be viewed in ourselves as a pain, in others with an alienation capable of indefinite increase. They become entirely independent sentiments; still, however, receiving constant supplies of nourishment from their parent affections, which, in well-balanced minds, reciprocally strengthen each other; unlike the unkind passions, which are constantly

engaged in the most angry conflicts of civil war. In this state we desire to experience these *beneficent volitions*, to cultivate a disposition towards them, and to do every correspondent voluntary act. They are for their own sake the objects of desire. They thus constitute a large portion of those emotions, desires, and affections, which regard certain dispositions of the mind and determinations of the will as their sole and ultimate end. These are what are called the moral sense, the moral sentiments, or best, though most simply, by the ancient name of *Conscience;* which has the merit, in our language, of being applied to no other purpose, which peculiarly marks the strong working of these feelings on conduct, and which, from its solemn and sacred character, is well adapted to denote the venerable authority of the highest principle of human nature.

'Nor is this all: It has already been seen that not only sympathy with the sufferer, but indignation against the wrong-doer, contributes a large and important share towards the moral feelings. We are angry at those who disappoint our wish for the happiness of others. We make the resentment of the innocent person wronged our own. Our moderate anger approves all well-proportioned punishment of the wrong-doer. We hence approve those dispositions and actions of voluntary agents which promote such suitable punishment, and disapprove those which hinder its infliction or destroy its effect; at the head of which may be placed that excess of punishment beyond the average feelings of good men, which turns the indignation of the calm by-stander against the culprit into pity. In this state, when anger is duly moderated,—when it is proportioned to the wrong,—when it is detached from personal considerations,—when *dispositions and actions are its ultimate objects*,—it becomes a sense of justice, and is so purified as to be fitted to be a new element of conscience. There is no part of morality which is so *directly* aided by a conviction of the necessity of its observance to the general interest, as justice. The connexion between them is discoverable by the most common understanding. All public deliberations profess the public welfare to be their object; all laws propose it as their end. This calm principle of public utility serves to mediate between the sometimes repugnant feelings which arise in the punishment of criminals, by repressing undue pity on one hand, and reducing resentment to its proper level on the other. Hence the unspeakable importance of criminal laws, as a part of the moral education of mankind. Whenever they carefully conform to the moral sentiments of the age and country,—when they are withheld from approaching the limits within which the disapprobation of good men would confine punishment, they contribute in the highest degree to increase the ignominy of crimes, to make men

recoil from the first suggestions of criminality, and to nourish and mature the sense of justice, which lends new vigor to the conscience with which it has been united.

'Other contributary streams present themselves. Qualities which are necessary to virtue, but may be subservient to vice, may, independently of that excellence or of that defect, be in themselves admirable. Courage, energy, decision, are of this nature. In their wild state, they are often savage and destructive. When they are tamed by the society of the affections, and trained up in obedience to the moral faculty, they become virtues of the highest order, and, by their name of *magnanimity*, proclaim the general sense of mankind that they are the characteristic qualities of a great soul. They retain whatever was admirable in their unreclaimed state, together with all that they borrow from their new associate and their high ruler. Their nature, it must be owned, is prone to evil; but this propensity does not hinder them from being rendered capable of being ministers of good, in a state where the gentler virtues require to be vigorously guarded against the attacks of daring depravity. It is thus that the strength of the well-educated elephant is sometimes employed in vanquishing the fierceness of the tiger, and sometimes used as a means of defence against the shock of his brethren of the same species. The delightful contemplation, however, of these qualities, when purely applied, becomes one of the sentiments of which the dispositions and actions of voluntary agents are the direct and final object. By this resemblance they are associated with the other moral principles, and with them contribute to form Conscience, which, as the master faculty of the soul, levies such large contributions on every province of human nature.

'It is important, in this point of view, to consider also the moral approbation which is undoubtedly bestowed *on those dispositions and actions of voluntary agents*, which terminate in their own satisfaction, security, and well-being. They have been called duties to ourselves, as absurdly as a regard to our own greatest happiness is called self-love. But it cannot be reasonably doubted, that intemperance, improvidence, timidity, even when considered only in relation to the individual, are not only regretted as imprudent, but blamed as morally wrong. It was excellently observed by Aristotle, that a man is not commended as *temperate*, so long as it costs him efforts of *self-denial* to persevere in the practice of temperance, but only when *he prefers that virtue for its own sake*. He is not meek, nor brave, as long as the most vigorous self-command is necessary to bridle his anger or his fear. On the same principle, he may be judicious or prudent; but he is not benevolent, if he confers benefits with a view to his own greatest happiness. In like manner, it is ascertained by ex-

perience, that all the masters of science and of art,—that all those who have successfully pursued truth and knowledge,—love them for their own sake, without regard to the generally imaginary dower of interest, or even to the dazzling crown which fame may place on their heads. But it may still be reasonably asked, why these useful qualities are morally improved, and how they become capable of being combined with those public and disinterested sentiments, which principally constitute conscience? The answer is, because they are entirely conversant with volitions and voluntary actions, and in that respect resemble the other constituents of conscience, with which they are thereby fitted to mingle and coalesce. Like those other principles, they may be detached from what is personal and outward, and fixed on the dispositions and actions, which are the only means of promoting their ends. The sequence of these principles and acts of will becomes so frequent, that the association between both may be as firm as in the former cases. All those sentiments of which the final object is a state of the will, become thus intimately and inseparably blended; and of that perfect state of solution (if such words may be allowed) the result is *Conscience*,—the judge and arbiter of human conduct; which, though it does not supersede *ordinary motives* of virtuous feelings and habits, which are the ordinary motives of good actions, yet exercises a lawful authority even over them, and ought to blend with them. Whatsoever actions and dispositions are approved by conscience acquire the name of virtues or duties: they are pronounced to deserve commendation; and we are justly considered as under a moral *obligation* to practise the actions and cultivate the dispositions.'

With all our respect for the character and opinions of Sir James Mackintosh, we are compelled to say that we do not consider his innovations upon the theory of morals held by those of his predecessors with whom he most nearly agrees, as improvements. We cannot but regret that, apparently from a too anxious wish to avoid the unnecessary multiplication of original principles,—he should have diminished the weight and value of his own testimony in favor of the doctrines which he seems to be most anxious to establish. He shows throughout extraordinary zeal in sustaining the reality of disinterested benevolence, and makes this principle in a manner the cardinal point in his doctrine; but when he developes his own views more systematically in the closing chapter, we find, with surprise and not without pain, that this disinterested benevolence is after all only a 'secondary formation' out of our animal appetites. He insists, it is true, that 'the pleasures derived from the gratification of a

self-regarding appetite may become a part of a perfectly disinterested desire; and that the disinterested nature and absolute independence of the latter are not in the slightest degree impaired by the consideration that it is so formed.' The reader will judge how far this doctrine is in itself plausible, and how far it is sustained by the reasoning with which it is accompanied in the work. For ourselves, we must own, that we cannot regard it as satisfactory. If the mind, in its mature state, possess the quality of disinterested benevolence, which, by admission, is entirely and totally distinct from any animal appetite, why should we hesitate to admit that the germ of this feeling, as well as of the animal appetites, is an original and inherent part of our nature? Why is it more probable that there should be only one principle, or one set of principles in the mind than two, or more? It is no doubt unphilosophical to admit more causes, than are necessary to account for the phenomena that are to be explained; but it is not less unphilosophical to assign different and entirely opposite effects to the same cause, for no other purpose than to diminish the number of original principles. We can understand, though we cannot agree with those who deny the reality of benevolence, and affirm that selfish gratification is the only possible motive of action. The doctrine which admits the reality of benevolence, and yet denies that it is an original principle of our nature, though more agreeable, is much less consistent and plausible as a theory, and, we must own, is entirely beyond our comprehension.

The same objection applies to Sir James's theory of the Moral Faculty. If we thought it necessary to admit the existence of a separate power of this kind, we should be much more disposed to regard it as an original principle, than as a secondary formation out of other elements. For ourselves, we do not, as we have stated on the occasion above alluded to, find any sufficient evidence of the existence of a separate *Moral Faculty*, whether Intellectual or Sensitive. By *Conscience* we understand the mind itself,—the GOD WITHIN US,—exercising jurisdiction over our actions and those of others through the medium of the understanding and of the natural affections; through the agency, in short, of all those distinct elements of our nature which Sir James supposes to be, for this particular purpose, amalgamated into a new and distinct faculty. The two theories are so far the same, as they both suppose that the mind, in making up its judgments on the moral quali-

ties of actions, employs almost all the various faculties belonging to all. Sir James supposes that, for this purpose, all these various faculties are previously amalgamated into a new and independent power. This theory is not to us distinctly intelligible, and of course does not command our assent. We think it much more natural to suppose that the mind, or in other words, the MAN, in applying his different powers of thought and feeling to the consideration of voluntary actions, exercises each of these powers in turn, as he does for all other purposes, and that when his judgment in regard to a particular action is, as may often be the case, the effect of the exercise of several different powers, the combination is seen not in the process but in the result.

With these brief commentaries, we take our leave for the present of this great and good man. The freedom with which we have dissented from his opinions will have satisfied our readers that we are not the slaves of his authority, nor the blind worshippers of his name. His talents and learning, remarkable as they certainly were, were not superior to those of many of his contemporaries, and are not the points in his character which chiefly command our admiration. We dwell upon his life and writings with peculiar satisfaction, because we recognize in him one of the rare instances in which the highest endowments of intellect, graced and set off by every advantage of education and position in the world, are also associated with correct moral principles and generous sentiments. The contemplation of such characters is delightful, and the description of them tends to elevate the standard of conduct and feeling throughout the community. It is on such characters that we would earnestly exhort the ingenuous and aspiring youth of our country to fix their eyes and fasten their affections. Let them learn from others a stricter prudence in private affairs, and a steadier industry,—the secrets of Fortune;—but let them study in Mackintosh the reverence for Religion and Virtue;—the generous but well-tempered zeal for improvement and liberty; the manly independence; the wide and various learning, and the amiable manners, which rendered his great natural gifts an honor and a blessing to mankind. We feel a sincere pleasure in acknowledging, as far as our feeble powers permit, by this imperfect notice, the pleasure and improvement which we have derived from his conversation and writings; and shall be still more gratified, if the opportunity should be afforded us of resuming the subject with fuller materials hereafter.

ART. VII.—*Noyes's Translation of the Psalms.*

New Translation of the Book of Psalms. With an Introduction. By GEORGE R. NOYES. Boston. 1831.

This book has been for some time before the public, and we have attempted to notice it before, but various circumstances have prevented. We regret this omission the less, however, since we have seen the success of this and the preceding work of the same writer. They are of a kind which have prejudices to encounter and overcome, before they can make way into that general use for which they were designed. But from what we know of their merits, and what we have seen of their circulation, we feel persuaded that the author will be rewarded, by knowing that he has been useful to thousands who desired to read the Scriptures with understanding, and have so often met with difficulties, that they have been almost in despair.

There seems to us to be a little misunderstanding with respect to the plainness of the Scriptures. In all that relates to the doctrines and duties of our religion, particularly the latter, they are plain as the light of heaven can make them. Every one, who sincerely desires to know the truth on these subjects, can easily find it; for, if he find difficulties at first, he moves in a path like that of the just, which shines brighter and brighter as he advances. Undoubtedly many subjects may be suggested, even by the simplest passages of Scripture, which are not easily understood. But if any are disappointed thus, they must be aware that there exists no necessity, on their part, either to agitate or understand them; for, so far as regards the formation of character, the knowledge of practical truth, the right restraint of the passions, and the proper use and cultivation of all the immortal powers, no one is left in doubt or darkness by the written word of God. Moreover, every year that passes over us is throwing light on parts that have been obscure, not only by direct theological investigation, but by the discoveries of science, the researches of travellers, the inquiries of historians,—and, in fact, by every intellectual department, in which the minds of men are vigorously exerted. And in the main purpose which the Scriptures were intended to answer,—that of preparing men for another state of existence, to which all, whether prepared or not, must go,

it is the chief glory of their inspiration, as it is the beauty of the holiness they inspire, that the same truth, which makes the archangel wonder and adore, stoops, with divine simplicity, to the unenlightened and even the infant mind.

But it would not follow, that, because the Scriptures were plain as written, they should be plain as translated. Translation is always a difficult and delicate thing. The idiomatic expressions of one language cannot be translated into another, because, in many cases, when they would convey any meaning, so far from being the true one, it would be precisely the reverse of it. We see examples of this kind in the New Testament, where certain events fulfilled certain ancient predictions; and it is said that such things happened that the prophecy 'might be fulfilled,'—as if they took place on purpose to fulfil the predictions; whereas the wonder was, that the order of events should, without any direct and intended agency, have so directly fulfilled the prediction. By a similar inversion, our Saviour is made to thank his Father 'that thou hast hid these things from the wise' of ages past, when the subject of his gratitude is that, having hid these things from the wise of ancient times, it has pleased God to reveal them in the latter days. Besides expressions and phrases, there are words which cannot be translated for want of a corresponding English term. Thus the Greek verb 'to have,' in some cases signifies use as well as possession, and can only be rendered by our American word 'improve,' which, in this active capacity, 'improving an estate,' for example, has not the honor of being an English word. The common verb 'to be,' also signified often continued existence. Thus Peter said, 'It is good for us to be here,' meaning it is well for us to remain, or to live here. Some words have not merely changed, but absolutely reversed their meaning since the days of King James. This is true of such terms as *let*, signifying *to hinder;* and of the word *prevent*, as sometimes used in the Scriptures. It is true, that such things do not often occur where they would embarrass those who are searching for practical truth and duty, which are by far the most important purposes for which the Scriptures were given. Still it would be better that they should not exist; for unless men can understand the sacred writings, they will not read them; and difficulties of this kind might be serious obstacles to those not much in the habit of reading or thinking, where they would not even be perceived by the learned or the thoughtful.

It is neither our province nor our desire, to discuss the question respecting the necessity or advantage of a new translation of the Scriptures; a question which has been before the world for many years, and debated with ability by members of every party. On the contrary, we wish to recommend this work as one which may be equally acceptable to either side, and to show that those who maintain that a new version of the whole is unnecessary, will do well to encourage every attempt to throw light upon the several parts. For all agree that there are difficult passages in the Bible, which it is well to understand, for the reason given by the highest of all possible authorities, —that when a person reads the word without understanding it, it easily perishes from his heart. That such passages are numerous, and important enough to require the substitution of a new version for the present, is denied by many religious men, who maintain that the present one is excellent, with the exception of a few words and phrases, which have lost their meaning in the lapse of years; and that it is also recommended by many venerable associations, which should not be broken without reasons of the most pressing importance. It is urged, in reply, that much light has been thrown upon the interpretation of the Scriptures in modern times,—that those associations should attach themselves to the truths revealed, and not to the accidental form in which uninspired men translated them from one language to another;—and that to contend, as earnestly as many do, for the present version, shows that they deem words more important than things, forgetting that 'words are the daughters of earth,—things are the sons of heaven.'

Now it strikes us, that to answer the strong reasons of those who propose a substitution, the other party must encourage such works as this, that they may have it in their power to say that there is no need of such a substitution;—for they certainly do not wish to plead for the mistakes and errors. They allow that there is much that might be altered for the better; why not then give a welcome to works which respect and retain what is excellent, and only alter what requires alteration? Why not patronize works, which concede to them that the present translation is in general good, and only change what all allow would be the better for alteration?

This work is founded upon the established version. It differs widely from the former work of the same author, and for good and substantial reasons. The Book of Job requires more of that ex-

planation which a new translation affords, than any book perhaps in all the Scriptures. Its author is wholly unknown, so that no light can be thrown upon his probable meaning in any case, from what we know of his history, character and opinions. The country where the scene is laid, is determined only by doubtful and imperfect conjecture; so that, instead of explaining the local allusions by what we know of the country, we only know the country by the local allusions. The theology of the book has no reference to the Hebrew revelation, so that no knowledge of Jewish antiquities can aid in the interpretation. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the translation of this book in our Bible should have been more defective than that of others; nor that Mr. Noyes, while he acknowledged the general excellence of the English version, and declared that no version ought to succeed, which did not resemble it, should have felt obliged to depart from it as freely and as often as he did. No thoughtful man of any party ever read it without being troubled by difficulties at every step of his way; and the simple endeavor to correct the errors in it was sufficient to lead to a version almost entirely new. The best way of answering the objections founded upon these errors is to confess that they exist; but there are popular works within the reach of every one which will abundantly explain, so that it is not necessary to resort to the revolutionary process of substitution.

In the work before us, Mr. Noyes, without departing from his principle, has departed less from the common version. We commend his judgment in so doing, wherever he found it consistent with his design. For the common version, so far from being, as is generally supposed, the result of a single exertion, owes its excellence in great part to the works of previous translators, whose language was followed in it, as the language of the common version is by translators of the present day. The English translation of the Psalms has passed into universal use, wherever the English language is spoken. Its simple, expressive, and peculiar dialect is music and inspiration to a million hearts. It has been for ages the chosen and sacred channel in which devotion pours itself out to God. Who can wonder, that such associations twine themselves round the tree of life in the soul? They might possibly increase and gather, so as to injure its growth; but so long as they only add to its beauty and verdure, and since they cannot outlast the short season of mortal life, it seems like sacrilege to hew them away.

There are thousands of the most serious and intelligent readers, who admit alteration where it is necessary to throw light upon the page, but would not welcome it for the sake of taste or feeling. Where a word or a phrase gives a wrong impression, they would be willing to give it up; but for a less reason they would hardly consent to its removal, even to replace it with a better. There are so many of the best men, in every religious party, who share this natural feeling, that the judicious translator treats it with the greatest regard; and translators of an opposite description, who carelessly disregard it, find it impossible to gain a hearing,—and thus defeat their own purpose, however good and proper it may be.

But while we name as a recommendation of Mr. Noyes's work, that he has respected the English version of the Psalms, and only departed from it where it was necessary to give the true meaning, it seems to us that his work is not less adapted on that account to the purpose of those who, like Bishop Lowth, are in favor of an entire substitution. For they are well aware that if ever that substitution take place, it will not be by sudden enactment, nor by an arbitrary exertion of power. Their opposers misunderstand their views, when they say, in favor of the present version, that a number of divines, collected like those in James's days, would not be likely to make a better. This is the last course which those in favor of substitution would think of adopting. They would choose that the work should be the slow result of critical interpretation. They would select translations, or parts of translations, on which solitary scholars had spent their lives of labor, not for the sake of profit or pride, but which they have engaged in, heart and soul, from a desire to understand the oracles of God; and which they have published to the world that others might see what they saw, and admire what they admired. And so far from establishing a new version in such a manner that no subsequent improvement could be made, they would enjoin it as a duty on all who come after them to welcome every improvement, however small, and from whatever quarter it comes. They are anxious that truth should not be identified with the medium through which it is conveyed; and they would remove the dust of ages, that we may see in the glass clearly, and not darkly, the substantial truth of the word of God.

While, then, we readily confess ourselves incompetent to decide a question which has been ably debated by other hands,

and think it needless to state the opinion which we have formed, we feel safe in saying, that there is no class of readers who are not interested to encourage such works as this. Those who know the difficulty of translating the Old Testament, arising from the language in which it is written,—a language, of which we have nothing more than the mouldering remains,—from the arbitrary meaning which the Jews affixed to various words, as if on purpose to put them out of the reach of interpretation, —from the injuries which the writings themselves have suffered from the hands of time, which makes dogs' ears that no human power can repair,—from the condition in which the text has been left by careless and ignorant transcribers,—those who can estimate the labor and qualifications which such an enterprise requires, will be aware that they are such as no encouragement can overpay. And those who are quite unable to comprehend either the difficulties or the industry that surmounts them, well know that there are many passages which they do not understand, and which at present they have no means of understanding, since the learning which throws light upon them is locked up in libraries, where it is utterly inaccessible to thousands who are deeply interested to know its results at least, if not the steps by which learned men have reached them. These things can never be within their reach, unless they extend encouragement to those who endeavor to supply their wants,—and, casting aside all local and party prejudices, acknowledge that the efforts of such men are meritorious, and give them a hearty welcome and applause.

No part of the Old Testament is easy to translate, even to the satisfaction of the translator himself; and he cannot be so visionary as to hope to satisfy all others, unless he hopes to accomplish more than ever yet was done. The Psalms present more difficulties than other parts, because they are not the work of a single hand. The great object of the translator is to make himself familiar with the mind, character, habitual expression, and accidental peculiarities of his author; and when he has ascertained these points to his own satisfaction, he proceeds with a rapidity and confidence which he cannot have in other cases. When these things are unknown, he cannot possibly determine in any doubtful passage what would be the probable meaning of the author, which is an indispensable guide in choosing between different interpretations. The Psalms were divided into five books, collected at unknown

times and by unknown hands. Seventy-one of the Psalms were written by David; and the knowledge we have of his character and history throws abundant light upon the obscure parts of his writings; but no such light can be cast upon the great number which remain, some of which are ascribed to Asaph, who is to us nothing but a name, but of which the greater part are nameless and wholly destitute of internal evidence, which would help to determine who the writer may have been. Mr. Noyes represents the editor of the first book as collecting the Psalms of David alone; the second, such psalms of David as were not in the former book, with some others by different hands. The three last were miscellaneous. But as the first collection contains some which appear to have been written during the captivity, it seems probable that even that was not made till after the return from Babylon. Poems, thus covering centuries of the Hebrew history, and abounding in allusions to circumstances and times, it is evident cannot be easily translated; beside that, in the transmigration of the poetical spirit from one language to another, the beauty and power are very apt to be lost.

We say, then, that every thing which tends to explain these writings should be encouraged, and especially such works, as give the results of labor without the detailed process; for they come with but little pretension; not many can be aware of the amount of exertion they must have cost; and the translator sacrifices the display of his learning, which some would consider a loss of one of its best rewards. The Psalms are cherished as a sacred treasure, by the simple and the wise,—by Christian, Mahometan, and Jew,—we may even say by infidels, for cultivated sceptics always profess to admire the lofty poetry of the Old Testament, while they neglect the practical wisdom of the New. These writings are delightful to the cold eye of taste, and passionately dear to the glowing soul of devotion. They are full of the inspiration of genius, which, like the divine inspiration of the prophets, is a glorious gift of God. In truth, genius partakes of the nature of prophecy; it has always something prophetic about it; it is not bound down to its own country and its own time; it is not formed and colored by the events of the day and the hour. When it speaks, its audience is man, and the 'heart universal' listens with rapture to its voice. It is heard beyond the boundaries of mountains,—beyond the broad waste of oceans. Its sounds never die upon the air,—

they echo far down the lapse of time. This is eminently seen in the history of these writings. The sound of their inspiration, not loud, but strangely sweet, comes down to us over ages, which are passing away like the waves of a retiring sea. Mighty vessels of state have gone down, leaving no trace in the waters. Cities and kingdoms have perished, leaving no stone rising above the tide to show where they stood;—but these poems, written by hands that have long been in the dust, are still heard, reverenced and loved, as fervently as in the palaces and halls of Jerusalem thousands of years ago. They are heard in the rolling anthem and the whispered prayer,—they float on the harp's vibration and the organ's swell,—beneath the arches of the cathedral and the rafters of the straw-built shed; and they will be a monument to all future generations, showing what human power and heavenly inspiration can do.

The illustrious men of the Hebrew nation were the best of all possible examples to show this prophetic character, this adaptation to all coming time; for all their attachments were local; they loved their country with even more than affection,—with strong and ungovernable passion; every part of it,—mountain, lake and river, was distinguished by some remarkable tradition, and in their annals the simple truth was more wonderful, than any thing superstition could have invented. The hills round the lake of Galilee were not more clearly reflected in its bosom, than the aspect of their country was reflected in their writings; every thing that related to their own, their native land, was first and nearest to their hearts. We may trace this in the very sound of their inspiration. When they tell of battles fought, and victories gained with God upon their side, their harps ring loud and clear as the silver trumpets of the Temple; when they foretell the misfortunes of their country, the Temple sinking in flames, and the mountains melted in the blood of their inhabitants, they are mournful and affecting as the wail of a broken heart. And yet, such is the power of their inspiration, that their writings, local as they are in style, sentiment and description, are natural and welcome in every coming age; they seem like the property, not of a single nation, but of the whole race of man.

The most interesting of the Psalms are those of David, a man of extraordinary ability, which was displayed not merely in his poetry, but in the active engagements of a life as various

and singular as the imagination ever drew. We know not whether injustice is done to him by those who represent him as an example of religious excellence, or those who, in making up their judgment, remember nothing but his crimes. His life was passed, not in thoughtful solitude, but in wild and romantic adventure; he lived in times which were essentially savage. How is it possible, that any should expect to find in him the evangelical virtue which Christianity alone can inspire? And why should any one wonder, that he should speak of his enemies with bitterness, even in the presence of his God? We see no immediate connexion between inspiration and excellence. Divine power employed those best suited to its purposes. There were many, who were approved for their fidelity in the particular work required at their hands, whether it was resisting idolatry, inflicting vengeance, or redressing wrongs,—whose private life, tried by our standard of morality, would have received stern condemnation. But while we cannot allow that there was any thing surprising in the faults of David, considering when and where he lived, we confess that we are inclined to wonder at his virtues. For example, at the generosity which he manifested when he was suffering under the heat of his burning climate, and three of his brave friends had cut their way through the Philistine army, to bring him water from the well of Bethlehem by the gate. Feeling that he had no right to encourage such needless self-devotion, such prodigal waste of blood, he poured the untasted water on the ground, as an offering to his God. These are things, which none but a generous spirit could do. The advice which he gave to his son, when dying, has generally been thought to imply an atrocious spirit of revenge, when, according to our translators, he charges him to destroy the man whose life he had sworn to spare. But if, as commentators say, the words will bear a different construction, the connexion seems to require it; for after telling Solomon that Shimei was a dangerous man, but that he had pledged his word that he should not die, he says, You are a wise man, and know what to do to him; but his head bring *not* down to the grave with blood. This certainly seems more consistent with his character, than for him openly to declare that he had sworn not to injure Shimei, and then to direct his son to destroy him; more natural, than to tell Solomon that he knows best what should be done, and after leav-

ing all to his judgment, to charge him with his dying voice to take the pardoned offender's blood.

This great man was qualified to be a prophet of the human heart, by his familiarity with human life in every form. He was born in unambitious retirement, and, as a youthful shepherd, was acquainted with the cares and passions of humble stations. He had no preparation of experience for the duties and dangers of the throne; but, when raised at once to that dizzy height, showed that he had ample resources, to fulfil the one and to resist the other. For years he led the life of an oppressed and anxious exile, suffering from the jealousy of Saul, who feared, respected and almost loved him. When he came to the throne, upon the death of his misguided predecessor, he was at once a great and powerful sovereign. The wild natives of the country were successively defeated, and, 'from Egypt to the Euphrates,' the whole region quietly submitted to his power; and he established a fame more brilliant than victories can ever give, by securing the administration of justice in his empire,—by extending the general prosperity from the highest to the humblest dwellings,—by encouraging the elegant arts, poetry, music and architecture, with every thing which could refine the manners and feelings of the fierce Hebrew race. He secured the resources of other countries in addition to his own, by launching his peaceful navies upon the sea. But, at the moment when his glory and success were at the highest, the tide began to turn. The bark, which rode the waves so triumphantly was wrecked, and lay torn and helpless upon the shore. He gave himself up to the sway of his passions; and the consequences of this guilt began to fall upon him. His house was filled with mourning, by the rebellion and death of his favorite son; he became the prey of evil tongues, and a dark and melancholy cloud thenceforth hung over all the setting of his day. By means of these various and unexampled changes, he became intimately acquainted with life, in all its lights and shadows of joy and sorrow, of glory and of shame. Every one can find, in the feelings and circumstances of David, something that resembles his own. His inspiration is adapted in this way to the hall of the monarch, the soldier's tent, and the hermit's cell,—to the solitude of the mourner,—the desolation of the exile,—the humiliation of the penitent, and the triumph of the great. It is welcome in the chamber of the sick, and at the bedside of the dying. It

is suited to every variety of fortune and feeling, and, in one word, to every human heart.

For reasons like this, these admirable writings, even apart from their sacred character, must be valuable and interesting to all; and it is of great importance, that they should be thoroughly understood. There are readers, who have no time nor opportunity to go to the explanations of commentators, and who are compelled to remain in ignorance of the meaning of many passages, on which light might be easily thrown by the alteration of one or two words. When they find that Mr. Noyes has respected their feeling in adopting the common version, and has made no changes simply for the sake of change, we are persuaded that they will feel grateful for his labors, and be ready to testify that he has done a good service, not only to the interests of general improvement, but to the cause of that religion, which he evidently has at heart.

The amount of alteration which Mr. Noyes has found it necessary to make, may be judged by comparing his version of the twenty-third Psalm with that of our Scriptures. This beautiful Psalm is supposed to have been written, when David was driven out from the Holy City. In it he praises God, that when defeated by his rebellious son, and obliged to encamp beyond the river, where he was in danger of perishing, he is still supplied by Divine Providence, and can spread a banquet in the sight of his foes;—for veteran soldiers flocked to his standard, and many, like Barzillai, gave their wealth to sustain his army. We choose this, not because it is the happiest translation, but partly with a view to illustrate that prophetic character, by which the Psalms have overcome their first local application, and suited themselves to all persons and ages.

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want!
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures,
He leadeth me beside still waters.
He reviveth my spirit;
He leadeth me in the right paths,
For His name's sake.
When I walk through the darkest valley
I fear no evils, for Thou art with me;
Thy crook and Thy staff, they comfort me.
Thou preparest a table before me
In presence of my enemies.

Thou anointest my head with oil;
My cup runneth over.
Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life,
And I shall dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

Any one may here observe, how easily the local and personal blessings for which David expresses his gratitude, take a figurative meaning, and supply a voice of thankfulness for every heart. The expression, 'valley of the shadow of death,' is here changed into 'darkest valley,' which is undoubtedly the true meaning; for the writer was not speaking of the darkness of death, but a deathlike darkness, which prevailed in the vales of the wild region where he was. The original expression is best literally rendered 'valley of the shades,' but the proper translation here is that which Mr. Noyes has given. The writer compares himself to a sheep wandering in those deserts, where sheep are in constant danger without the shepherd's care.

We give but one more example, to show how a Psalm, which has conveyed no meaning to most readers, resumes order and connexion when newly translated. The following version of the hundred and tenth Psalm may be compared with that in our Bible.

Jehovah said to my Lord
'Sit thou at my right hand,
Until I make thy foes thy footstool.'
Jehovah will extend the sceptre of thy power from Zion,
Thou shalt rule in the midst of thine enemies!
Thy people shall be ready, when thou musterest thy forces in holy splendor.
Thy youth shall come forward, like dew from the womb of the morning.

Jehovah hath sworn, and he will not repent,
Thou art a priest forever
After the order of Melchizedek.
The Lord at thy right hand
Shall in his wrath crush the heads of kings;
He shall execute justice among the nations;
He shall fill them with dead bodies,
He shall crush the heads of his enemies over extensive fields,
He shall drink of the brook in the way;
Therefore shall he lift up the head.

If the reader of the common version find passages which convey no meaning to his mind, and if in this he find the place of these passages supplied by others, which, beside being clear, are harmoniously consistent with the spirit and sentiment of the rest of the Psalm, he has reason to believe, that the translator has faithfully discharged his duty. Let this test be applied to the work before us, and we believe it will be approved. There are one or two alterations, which we regretted to see; but they are not very important, and we are confident that its solid merits will secure the favor of all, whose good opinion the author desires to gain.

ART. VIII.—*Bank of the United States.*

1. *Report of the Majority of the Committee of the House of Representatives, appointed on the 14th March, 1832, to inspect the Books, and examine into the Proceedings of the Bank of the United States.*
2. *Report of the Minority of the Select Committee, appointed to examine the Books and Proceedings of the Bank of the United States.*
3. *Report of* MR. ADAMS, *of the Committee appointed to examine and report on the Books and Proceedings of the Bank of the United States.*
4. *Message from the President of the United States, returning to the Senate, with his Objections, a Bill to modify and continue an Act, entitled an Act to incorporate the Subscribers to the Bank of the United States.*

The question, which involves the fate of the Bank of the United States, is now before the country; and no man can say, that the means of forming a just opinion of its merits are withheld from those by whom it is to be decided. The closest scrutiny into the affairs of that institution, which suspicion ought to dictate or prejudice demand, has been already made; none of the instruments, by which public sentiment could be excited against it, have been overlooked, or employed in the spirit of lenity; the counsel on both sides have been fully heard; and the people of the United States, the good men and true, are about to declare their verdict. We hold it to be a great error to maintain, that it is of little consequence at what determina-

tion they may arrive. Be that determination what it may, it will seriously affect the interests of the country, for good or evil, for many years to come. It is, therefore, to be regarded as a great public question, in comparison with which the interests of this party, or that individual, sink into insignificance; and which must be considered, by those who would view it aright, solely in reference to the general welfare. In this light, we have on some former occasions attempted to examine it; and in resuming our observations, we propose to take up the history of the Bank where we left it, and to give as large an account as our limits will allow, of whatever proceedings have been since instituted in relation to it, together with some remarks on the message of the President, in which he refuses his assent to the bill passed by both Houses of Congress, modifying and renewing its charter.

It is well known that the Executive has deemed it expedient, in his communications to Congress at the opening of their several sessions since his induction into office, regularly to express his objections to the Bank, and his hostility to its continued existence, as it is at present constituted. In his introductory message at the last session, after remarking that he had previously, on more than one occasion, felt it his duty to declare his sentiments upon the subject, he added that he thought proper, 'without a more particular reference to the views of the subject then expressed, to leave it for the present to the investigation of an enlightened people, and their representatives.' A remarkable difference of opinion, however, appeared at this time to exist between the President, and one of his official advisers. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the state of the finances, bears date on the day following that of the message. There was no intimation in the latter, that the sentiments of the President had undergone a change; on the contrary, the reference to his former communications indicated, that they remained the same as before; while those of the Secretary of the Treasury were expressed with frankness and decision in favor of the existing Bank. He regarded its constitutionality as clearly and definitively settled; and the experience of the Government had, in his judgment, demonstrated with equal clearness, the indispensable necessity of such an institution to the fiscal operations of the country, the security of commercial transactions, and the safety and utility of the local banks. Without asserting

that the organization of the existing Bank was wholly free from objection, he insisted, that the judicious manner in which its affairs had been conducted, the accommodation which the Government and people had derived from it, and the knowledge it had acquired of the business and wants of the various sections of the country, a knowledge, which could be gained only by time and experience, together with the danger of withdrawing the facilities afforded by it, even for the purpose of transferring them to another institution, gave it strong claims upon the consideration of Congress, in any future legislation on the subject. These considerations induced him 'to recommend the expediency of re-chartering the Bank at the present time, and with such modifications as, without impairing its usefulness to the Government and the community, may be calculated to recommend it to the approbation of the Executive, and,—what is vitally important,—to the confidence of the people.'

So early as December, 1829, the President had recommended this matter to the consideration of Congress, as being, at that time, a proper subject for legislation; and though he has since declared that he considers 'present action premature,' it is not surprising that this circumstance, combined with the energetic exhortation of the Secretary of the Treasury, independently of the fact, that their application had been delayed as long as it could be when there was any hazard of an unfavorable decision, should have induced the officers of the Bank to present a petition for the continuance of their charter. The memorial of the President, Directors and Company of the Bank was accordingly presented early in January last, to the Senate by Mr. Dallas, and to the House of Representatives by Mr. McDuffie. In the Senate, it was referred to a select Committee. Various modes of reference were proposed in the House, but, after some debate, it was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means; who, on the 10th of February, reported a bill, the particular provisions of which it is unnecessary to notice here. Before this bill had been considered by the House, a resolution was offered by Mr. Clayton, of Georgia, providing for the appointment of a select committee to examine into the affairs of the Bank, and report thereon, and investing them with power to send for persons and papers. In the speech with which that gentleman introduced this proposition, he presented to the House certain

allegations of misconduct on the part of the officers of the institution, seven of which he considered as involving violations of its charter; while the residue, fifteen in number, were designated by him as 'abuses worthy of inquiring into, not amounting to forfeiture, but going, if true, clearly to show the inexpediency of renewing it.'

Whatever might be the merits of these singular specifications, precision was not among the number. They were designated by Mr. Clayton as an indictment; and among the counts was set forth 'a strong suspicion of secret understanding between the banks and brokers, to job in stocks, contrary to the charter;' a charge, on which none but a flinty attorney-general would put either fellow-being or corporation upon trial. These accusations were represented by Mr. Clayton as demanding an instant and rigorous investigation, which the proposed committee were to institute. On this resolution, a debate arose, which was continued about a fortnight, in the course of which various amendments were offered and successively rejected. It was at length proposed by Mr. Adams to amend the resolution, by striking out all that portion which followed the words providing for the appointment of a committee, and inserting the words 'to inspect the books, and to examine into the proceedings of the Bank of the United States, to report thereon, and to report whether the provisions of its charter have been violated or not.' The amendment also empowered the committee to meet in the city of Philadelphia, invested them with authority to send for persons and papers, and instructed them to make a final report on or before the 21st day of April following. As was intended by the mover, it wholly changed the character of the resolution. The mode of investigation contemplated by that resolution was one, which was regarded by Mr. Adams as neither authorized by the charter of the Bank, nor within the legitimate powers of the House. It would have affected not only the officers of that institution, but the rights, interests and characters of persons not responsible for their proceedings, and over whom the House had no control; and was, therefore, in violation of the security to individual rights, given alike by the charter and the law. His views upon this point are presented in his separate Report with great clearness and strength. It would seem that his reasoning was acquiesced in by the House; a motion, which was made to amend his amendment, so as to authorize the committee to inquire whether the

provisions of the charter had been abused as well as violated, was withdrawn, and the amendment of Mr. Adams was adopted without alteration. In this form, the resolution passed; thus limiting the inquiries of the committee to those objects, the right of investigating which was reserved to Congress, in the charter of the Bank. It was then proposed by Mr. Everett, that the committee should consist of nine members, to be appointed by ballot; but, at the request of others his motion was withdrawn, and the result which he obviously anticipated, took place. A majority of the committee were appointed by the speaker, from the number of those members who had voted in opposition to the amendment of Mr. Adams, and in favor of the resolution, in the form in which it originally stood, and in which it had been rejected by the House.

Under these circumstances, the committee proceeded to Philadelphia, to accomplish the object of their mission. Scarcely had they begun their operations, when a majority of their number thought proper to give a different construction to the resolution, from that which was intended by the House; and determined to inquire, not merely whether the charter of the Bank had been violated, but whether there had been any circumstances of mismanagement in its affairs, from the time of its foundation to that very hour; according to the schedule of abuses and suspicions, which their chairman, Mr. Clayton, had incorporated into the indictment of which we have already spoken. No objection was made to this proceeding on the part of the Bank; its President only reminded the committee of the confidential character of its accounts with its customers; a circumstance, which appeared to be of small moment in the estimation of the majority of their number. Such was the spirit in which the investigation was begun. As if to leave no doubt in regard to its character, the chairman entered a statement on the minutes of the committee, in which he declares that he had sought privately from one of the witnesses under examination, and from every one else likely to furnish it, information respecting the misconduct of the Bank. Far from indicating a bias in favor of the institution on the part of the committee, this proceeding served rather to betray a spirit unfavorable to the proper execution of their duty. The character of such a committee is or ought to be of a judicial, quite as much as an inquisitorial nature; and this determination to find abuses by private research shows very little of the

temper of the judge. At all events, it led the committee into a field of investigation, quite too broad for the limit of any human commission; but as if it were still too contracted, it was resolved, on motion of one of the members, Mr. Cambreleng, 'to proceed to examine the President and Directors of the Bank of the United States, on the question of loans, exchanges, funded debt, banking, specie and paper circulations, and on the general effect of the operations of the Bank and its branches upon the trade, industry, currency, foreign and domestic exchanges and revenue of the United States.' This investigation appears to have been confided to Mr. Cambreleng himself, who executed it in an interminable series of questions, which it cost the President of the Bank as much trouble to correct, as to answer. Our limits will not permit us to follow the committee in their flight through all the circles of earthly knowledge; a task, which belongs rather to the schoolmen of less illuminated ages, than to our humble capacities. All that we can do is very briefly to examine some of the fruits with which the committee were laden, on their descent from these sublime excursions; and we do this principally for the purpose of showing the material, out of which those violations of the charter were fabricated, of which the chairman had in the outset declared the officers of the institution guilty. It was naturally to have been expected, that in preparing his report, that gentleman would have availed himself of the opportunity of declaring their innocence, if the charges should be unsupported by the expected testimony, or if otherwise, of publishing their guilt. He did neither the one thing nor the other; he simply stated, on the part of the majority of the committee, that they would submit to the House, without expressing any opinion, such cases, as had been subjects of imputation against the Bank; or in other words, the alleged violations of its charter. They thus conveyed the impression, that they were persuaded of the validity of these allegations; a fact, which is hardly to be credited. If it were so, it indicates a facility in believing, which they will find very few to share.

The first on the list of supposed violations of the charter was a charge of *usury*, founded on a transaction which occurred ten years ago, since which time more than one generation of presidents and directors have passed away. The branch at Lexington discounted a promissory note, subscribed by William Owens and others, for four thousand dollars,

payable in three years in specie; and this amount was received by him in notes of the Bank of Kentucky, then at a discount of fifty-four per cent., at their nominal value. They were paid to him at his urgent solicitation. He declared, that they would answer his purpose as well as specie, and so in fact they did; being applied by him to the payment of debts at their nominal value. At their nominal value, had the branch at Lexington received them; they recovered that value six months after this transaction; so that, had the branch retained them, it would have received the full amount of them with interest. Under the agreement with Owens, the Bank received nothing more than the nominal value, and he received nothing less. When a suit was instituted on the note, the defendants offered a special plea, in which they averred, that at the time of the loan, the notes of the Bank of Kentucky were generally depreciated, so that one hundred dollars of the nominal value thereof were of the current value of only fifty-four dollars. To this plea, the attorney for the Bank demurred, relying rather on the presumed legal invalidity of the plea, than upon the real merits of the case. The plea was, however, sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Bank was thus made to suffer the penalties of usury, without its guilt. One would think, that the committee need hardly have referred it to Congress to decide, whether there was any violation of the charter here.

The committee next submit the question, whether the issuing of branch drafts can be justified under the provisions of the charter. The notes of the Bank, according to that instrument, are to be signed by the president and cashier; but the labor of preparing the required number, was greater than the physical strength of any two persons could endure. Application was therefore made to Congress in 1823, for authority to issue notes signed by other persons than these officers; and a committee, of whom Mr. Cambreleng was one, reported that the request was reasonable and ought to be granted. This report was made in February, 1823, within a week of the close of the session, and was not acted on. In 1827, a new petition was presented, and referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, who made no report upon it. The opinion of eminent counsel was then taken, as to the power of the branches to issue drafts, or bills of exchange, drawn by those branches on the parent Bank; and it was unani-

mous in favor of that power. They were acccordingly issued, in a uniform style, resembling that of the notes of the Bank, and signed by the presidents and cashiers of the respective branches. Though payable only at the parent Bank, the credit of the institution gave them universal circulation. They were in fact an accommodation to the public, who thus effected many of their exchanges without expense, rather than to the Bank, to which, under certain circumstances, they might prove very inconvenient. The only wonder is, that the power of issuing such drafts, in the manner proposed, should ever have been questioned. Except in the fact of their uniformity, they differed in no respect from the drafts which the bank had been, and must have been, in the habit of employing. If they involved a violation of the charter, it might have been suggested by the committee, that it was one, by which the public, rather than the institution, was the gainer. It might at least have been remembered, that an opinion had been pronounced in favor of their legality, by one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The two next charges against the Bank are, that it has sold coin, particularly American coin, and that it has sold stock obtained from Government under special acts of Congress. Of these transactions, the first is supposed to be unauthorized by any provision of the charter, and the second expressly prohibited by the injunction against any dealing of the Bank in stocks. Foreign coins, in the opinion of a majority of the committee, are not bullion; in that of the world at large, they unquestionably are; but the committee argue, that if foreign coins should be considered as bullion, American coins should not, so that in one way or another, the Bank has gone beyond its powers. The right of dealing in bullion, or foreign coins, was expressly given, in order to remove any doubt that might exist respecting the power of the Bank in this particular; while that of dealing in current coin is incident to the very nature of such an institution. These coins are bought by the Bank at their intrinsic value, and sold by it in the same manner; nor could it well be otherwise; for if the Bank were forbidden to allow an advance in purchasing, or to receive any advance in the sale of them, it would be a simple prohibition against paying out, or importing, or purchasing specie, in any case whatever. With respect to the sale of stock, the argument of the majority of the committee appears to be founded on a misconception of the provisions

of the charter. The Bank is prohibited from buying any portion of the public debt, but it is not forbidden to sell any evidences of that debt which it may lawfully possess, and it is expressly authorized to subscribe for government stock; over which it has the same control and the same rights, which appertain to every other owner of all other property. The majority of the committee would not have anticipated much danger from the exercise of the right of selling, if they had adverted to the fact, that the purposes of speculation in stock are poorly answered by the mere privilege of selling, without that of buying also. At all events, it requires more than common sagacity to detect in either of the above operations, any violation of the charter of the Bank. Indeed, the right of selling public stock has been employed by it in seasons of peril, very much for the security of commercial credit, and the general welfare of the country.

The two last supposed violations of the charter, as suggested by the majority of the committee, are the making of donations for roads, canals, and other purposes, and the building of houses to rent or sell, and the erection of other structures in aid of that object. In their statement of these, as in other instances, their Report forgets to state any explanatory circumstances, which might detract something from the guilt of this offending corporation. Express authority is given it by its charter, to purchase real estate, which it may hold in mortgage as security for the payment of debts previously contracted, as well as such as may be sold under executions in its own favor. By the failure of many of its debtors in the Western States, it was some years ago compelled to become the owner of a large amount of real property. The donations here alluded to were small subscriptions made for the improvement of such estate in the vicinity of its own, with the view of enhancing the value of the latter, and small sums contributed to fire insurance companies for its security; and the building in question was executed, in order to put the property of the Bank in a more eligible condition for sale. No persons except the majority of the committee can believe, that the Bank would voluntarily become the purchaser of real estate at all; and it is difficult to conceive, why those gentlemen should have supposed, that it would intermit for a moment its mighty speculations, to lay out a road or build a warehouse for the public detriment. The right of placing property in a

situation to be profitably held, or advantageously sold, is incident to the right of ownership; for it would be strange indeed, if the Bank were only authorized to hold this property on such terms, as may render it entirely worthless.

Such is a cursory survey of the charges, which a majority of a select committee of the House of Representatives have presented to that body, as violations of the charter of the Bank of the United States; in regard to which they do no more than intimate their own opinion, but leave it to the House to appreciate their enormity. It seems almost like ridicule, to bring them forward with the solemnity of criminal accusations. Indeed, if the character of those legislators were not at war with such a supposition, one might imagine them to be indulging themselves in a jest, designed to be at the expense of the Bank, but in reality at their own. We have dwelt upon them thus lightly, because they are examined in the Report of the minority of the committee briefly, but with much ability, and in that of Mr. Adams, with his characteristic force and directness. No stronger evidence could be desired of the correct and judicious manner in which the affairs of the Bank have been conducted, than is afforded by the fact, that these are the foremost offences in the dark catalogue of its crimes. Other accusations there certainly were, but they were not urged as violations of the charter; they came under the head of abuses worth inquiring into, and into which the committee did accordingly inquire with abundant alacrity and zeal. The officers of the bank were charged, among other things, with having loaned large sums to the editors of public journals, with the view of securing the press in aid of their nefarious purposes; and the private affairs of these individuals were accordingly investigated and made public, in order to excite against them some odious suspicions of corruption. It was of no avail, that the loans had been indiscriminately made, as well to those editors whose sentiments were hostile, as to those whose opinions were favorable to the Bank; it was to no purpose, that a case of suspicion, at the worst, was all that could possibly be proved; it was to no purpose, that the minority of the committee remonstrated against this exposure of the private affairs of individuals;—the majority of the committee went triumphantly on in their brilliant career, and at last left it to the better judgment of the House to decide, on the facts which they had collected and spread on the face of their Report, whether such

cases of corruption had any actual existence or not. We do not propose to enter upon the examination of these details; we could add nothing to the considerations which are set forth by Mr. Adams, in his stern and indignant commentary on the examination, and its results. We will only observe, that there is no censor so rigid, as a political partisan. In his list of the virtues, charity has no place; every action is uniformly attributed to the worst imaginable motive, and the possibility of the existence of a good motive, or of the absence of an evil one, is never for a moment admitted. If the Bank loan money to an editor who is opposed to it, it is bribery; if it advance money on competent security to a friendly one, it is the wages of iniquity. Let its officers adopt whatever course they may, they are sure to furnish conclusive evidence of their own guilt. Now there is obviously no reason, why those who happen to pursue the calling of editors of public journals, should be deprived of the facilities for the conduct of their business which they require, and which all other persons possess. It is just as reasonable to suppose that every editor, who opposes the Bank of the United States, is the slave of the State Banks, as to assume that all who support it are bought by its accommodations. Indeed, the mere loaning of money, on adequate security, is not so overpowering a favor, as of necessity to call for the sacrifice of principle and independence in requital. In the particular instance which is dwelt upon with much emphasis by the majority of the committee, we understand that the loan was made on good security, though for a longer term than usual; but when the officers of the Bank, men of unquestioned honor and integrity, whose assertions are not lightly esteemed in the community of which they are members, promptly and indignantly disclaim the motive thus imputed to them, of 'insinuating themselves' in this way into the management of the press, there seems to be no propriety in charging them with falsehood and hypocrisy. We may, perhaps, doubt their prudence; but it is going a little too far, to magnify imprudence into fraud and corruption. There is one fact, relating to this and the other investigations of the committee, which is worthy of remark. So far as we are informed, no argument was founded on their Report, either by friend or foe, in the subsequent debate upon the bill for re-chartering the Bank, in the body of which they were members.

After these Reports had been severally presented to the

House, the Senate resumed the consideration of a bill to modify and continue the charter of the Bank, which had been previously reported by the select committee, to whom the memorial of the President and Directors was referred. It was adopted by that body, after a deliberate and ample discussion. The following is a cursory account of its provisions. It proposed to continue the charter for the term of fifteen years following the third day of March, 1836. Authority was given to the Directors to appoint two or more officers to sign notes for a smaller sum than one hundred dollars, which were to be of the same validity as if signed in the usual manner. No notes, checks or drafts, which were not declared upon their face to be payable at the Bank where they should be issued, were to be put in circulation. The Bank and its branches were required to receive all notes of the Bank, wherever they might be declared payable on their face, in payment of balances due to them from the State Banks. No real estate, except the Bank buildings and lands mortgaged, was to be held by the Bank for a longer term than five years. Two offices only were to be established or continued in any one State. The sum of $200,000 was to be paid annually to the Government, during the period of fifteen years, as a consideration for the benefits resulting from the charter. Congress was to retain the power of preventing the Bank from issuing or keeping in circulation notes of a smaller denomination than twenty dollars. A list of the names of all stockholders, together with a statement of the number of shares held by them respectively, was to be furnished annually to the Secretary of the Treasury, and to the Treasurer of any State, who should apply for it. This bill was also passed by the House of Representatives, with an amendment, allowing the continuance of more than two branches, where they are already established, in any State. The Senate concurred in the amendment; and in this form the bill was sent to the President for his signature. It was shortly afterwards returned by him to the Senate, accompanied with a Message, in which he assigns at length the reasons which induce him to refuse it his assent.

Before we proceed to offer any remarks upon this document, it may be proper to look for a moment at the early history of the institution, the merits of which the President has never yet been able to perceive. Neither in this Message, nor in any allusion which he has heretofore made, is there a single

ray of light, to relieve the dark shadows of the picture he has drawn. It was in 1811, that the charter of the first Bank of the United States expired. The paper of the State Banks was poured out in a deluge, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the loss of its circulation. In two or three years after, every bank, to the South and West of New England, discontinued the payment of its notes in specie. No man needs to be informed of the effects of the depreciation of the currency which followed. In addition to the destruction of business, the interruption of confidence, the loss of credit, and the reckless and fatal spirit of speculation, there was a deep and real distress in some portions of the country, which seemed hardly to admit of any relief. In the midst of the complicated mischiefs growing out of this state of things, and for the purpose, as far as might be, of remedying them, the existing Bank of the United States was established. The renewal of the charter of the former one would probably have prevented their occurrence; but it was not so clear, that the creation of the new one would remove the evil, by restoring the currency from its state of alarming and unprecedented depreciation. Other experiments had been tried, and tried in vain. Peace had returned, but no return of specie payments came with it. Public opinion called loudly for their resumption, but its voice was unheard; the Secretary of the Treasury exhorted, entreated, prayed, but all in vain. Some of the State Banks were willing to adopt the measure; others could not be persuaded to relinquish the golden harvest, which they alone were gathering; nor is there any reason to believe that the object could have been accomplished, without the intervention of the Bank of the United States. The course of that institution was prompt and resolute. Instead of retiring, as it might have done with profit to itself, from a difficult and ungrateful task, it manfully and readily met the exigency; it proposed a compact, by which on the one hand the State Banks pledged themselves to resume specie payments, while the Bank of the United States, on the other, pledged its resources to sustain them in the operation. It did sustain them; it did effect its purpose. We have the testimony of Mr. Dallas, no undistinguished name, and of Mr. Lowndes, a man not apt to be mistaken, and not likely to deceive, in favor of the liberality and good faith with which its engagement was fulfilled. It has ever since preserved the currency of the country in as sound a condition as one which consists in a large proportion of paper can ever be maintained.

Yet the President of the United States was so little impressed by these facts, that he declared the Bank to have failed in the great end of establishing a sound and uniform currency; and in the Message which is now before us, has taken other very unfavorable views of its tendency and operation, which might induce the uninformed to suppose, that it is nothing better than the source of accumulated evils.

Of this paper, we would speak with the respect due to the official station of the President of the United States; but we deem it neither unbecoming nor unjust to say, that his name must have been attached to it under the influence of feelings of stern and unchangeable aversion to the Bank. There is hardly a paragraph, in which these feelings are not betrayed; there is not one, in which its merits are admitted. Throughout, the term monopoly is applied to its privileges, as if they could be designated by no other word, than an unpopular and odious one. But what is this monopoly? Not the privilege of loaning money; that is possessed by every individual in the land. Not a monopoly of the right of issuing notes for circulation; that it enjoys in common with some three or four hundred other institutions, existing under the authority of the several States. The power of issuing notes is one, which is every where, by the policy of our laws, taken from individuals, and conferred on corporations, subject to the supervision and control of the public authorities; and, moreover, paying largely for the privileges thus accorded to them. The Government of the United States, in consideration of a large amount directly paid, and of services rendered of great moment to the public welfare, confers this privilege on a single institution. It employs no more, because no more are needed for the purpose. Beyond this, there is no justice in the application of the term monopoly to the exclusive privileges of the Bank, which are exclusive only, because it could not otherwise exist. The Bank enjoys no monopoly of the foreign and domestic exchanges. Every individual has the same right of dealing in these, that he possessed before it was established; and if he cannot profitably pursue the business, it only proves, that the premium has been reduced by the Bank to the lowest rate, and that the funds of individuals are transferred at the least possible expense. Before it was instituted, the premium of exchange, paid in general at the West for bills on the large commercial cities, as we are assured on competent authority, was 2½ per

cent., and in many instances, much larger: now, at the highest, it is one half of one per cent.; and in a great number of cases, where drafts or notes are used, no premium on the transfer of funds is paid at all. So with respect to foreign exchanges, the operations of the Bank, as a large and constant purchaser of bills, prevent fluctuation in the demand, and, as a seller of them, in the supply; and it purchases and sells upon the most favorable terms, because if it did not, the business would pass into other hands. There is obviously no monopoly here; nothing but an extensive, but not exclusive dealing on the part of the Bank, of great advantage to the community. In various other portions of this document, expressions are used which, if they proceeded from any other source, would seem to have been intended merely to excite unmerited prejudice against the institution. Its stockholders are mentioned as a privileged class, enjoying favors and gratuities, from which the mechanic and the laborer are excluded; as if the same reproach were not just as applicable to those of every local bank. The erection of such an institution is denounced, as an alarming encroachment on the rights of the States; when, if there be any encroachment in the case, the regulation of the currency, which has so long been exercised by the States, might with more justice be termed an encroachment on the rights of the Union; and the constitutional prohibition of the power of directly taxing the Bank by the States is lamented, without any apparent admission of the fact, that such a power to tax is nothing less than a power to annihilate. But we have no room to dwell upon these subjects, and can only express our regret that topics of this sort are introduced into a state-paper, where one would not naturally look for aught resembling an appeal to prejudice.

The first and immediate effect of renewing the charter of the bank, in the manner contemplated by the bill, would, in the judgment of the Executive, be to raise the value of the stock to nearly fifty per cent. above its par value. This advance, equal to seventeen millions, would be, he says, a mere donation to the stockholders; whereas, on the contrary, it should be paid into the treasury of the United States; because, if these monopolies are to be sold at all, they should be sold for precisely what they are worth. It is doubtless true, that the Government, in granting any charter, must act for the benefit of the people, and not of those on whom it is bestowed; and it is universally admitted, that

a reasonable compensation should be paid by the latter, for the privileges thus conferred upon them. When their charter was originally granted, they paid to the Government a million and a half of dollars, and became bound to transfer the national funds, and to transact the business previously performed by the various loan offices, without pecuniary compensation. It is now proposed, that they shall pay the sum of two hundred thousand dollars annually, during the term of their charter. This is the amount, which both Houses of Congress, after much deliberation, have fixed upon as just and reasonable. It should not be forgotten, that the profits which the Bank can derive from the government deposites, since the reduction of the revenue, will be far less than they have been heretofore, while the sum which it pays to the Government will be considerably greater; and it must be remembered also, that if the Government is to receive all the profits of the charter, individuals can have no motive for accepting it. Now, if the suggestions of the President were adopted, it is very obvious that the stockholders, far from receiving any benefit, would experience a positive loss. Nothing but the wildest spirit of speculation could raise the price of the stock, in the manner which he supposes; and if such should be the fact, that price would be but momentary, as it would be far beyond its real value. Admitting, however, that this should be the result, and that the Bank should pay for its privileges one half the amount of its capital stock: it would then require an advance of one hundred per cent. on the remaining amount, to raise the stock even to its nominal value. Under these circumstances, the stockholders could not accept the charter without the certainty of loss. The same remark may be applied to the offers of immense payments to the Government for a new charter, which have been liberally made. If the stock of a new bank, which should be bound to pay ten millions into the treasury, could be subscribed, which we conceive to be absolutely impossible, there could result nothing but loss to those unfortunate enough to be its holders. The fallacy of the argument arises from laying out of view the fact, that the advanced value of the stock has arisen in part from the judicious management of the affairs of the institution, and the hold which it has obtained upon the public confidence; advantages, slowly gained, and not to be readily acquired by a new one. If any persons are to be benefited by the granting of the

charter, the benefit would seem to belong to those who have made the institution what it is, rather than to any other given number of individuals. The suggestion of the President is, that the whole American people should be allowed to become competitors for the purchase; but it is evident that, after all, the privileges must be conferred on a limited number of persons; and there is no reason, why they should not be possessed by the present stockholders, as well as by any other equal number. The only interest which the public at large can have is, that they should be exercised in the manner most likely to promote the general good. This security, as it appears to us, would be found in the renewed existence of the present institution, quite as certainly as in any other way.

Another objection, which stands in the van of the President's long array of objections to the bill, is the danger of allowing foreigners to become proprietors of the stock. Eight millions of it in amount are already in their hands, and, owing to the mode of taxation to which its American holders are subject, he apprehends that nearly the whole will sooner or later be concentrated in the hands of foreigners, and employed by them to effect the ruin of our institutions. In this way, an event, which would not under any circumstances be likely to occur, and which, as the Bank is constituted, never can occur, is represented as an impending and unavoidable evil. Every one knows, that foreigners are prevented, by the charter of the institution itself, from exercising any influence in the management of its affairs; and if they had power to do this, a sufficient motive for undertaking it would still be wanting. Why should they purchase the stock, in order to exercise a control which the purchase of the stock will not give them, and which, in a season of exigency, supposed in the very statement of the objection, would, if they obtained it, be much more likely to expose their property to peril, than the institutions of this country? The foreign holders of American bank stock are not very likely to become conspirators and incendiaries: they would not be ambitious of breaking down the pillars of any temple of Dagon, under whose ruins they would be the first to perish. It would be no sport to these engineers to 'hoist with their own petard;' indeed, of all earthly probabilities, we hold that to be the remotest, which represents a company of merchants and bankers as anxious to spring a mine for the destruction of nations, at their own personal expense. We

have, however, some instructive experience upon this point. Of the twenty-five thousand shares, into which the stock of the first Bank of the United States was divided, eighteen thousand were held by foreigners in the year 1809. Then was the time, if ever, for these enemies of freedom and good order to accomplish their wicked purposes. The cry of foreign influence was ringing from one extremity of the Union to the other; the signs of the times were dark and ominous, and the charter was about to expire; but we have never heard among the rumors of that eventful period, either that this stock was purchased by the secret service money of Great Britain, or that its real owners exhibited any ambition to sacrifice the Government, which gave their property protection. If any danger of the sort existed, it would be quite as likely to arise from the accumulation of the stock of local banks, canal or rail-road stock, or that of any State in the hands of foreigners, as from their possessing that of the Bank of the United States; but we have never heard of objections on the part of any State, that they should become the owners of this species of property. There appears in fact to be some mistake in the premises, which are to lead to so disastrous a conclusion. It is the taxation of stockholders here, while foreigners are believed to be exempted from the burden, which the President thinks likely to accumulate the stock in the hands of the latter. He supposes that the bill concedes to the States the right of taxing the interest of resident stockholders, while that of foreigners, being free from any such exaction, will be the more valuable of the two. But the bill in truth concedes nothing of this kind. If the States did not possess this right of taxation before, no act of Congress can give it to them, because it cannot annul the operation of the constitution of the United States. They always have possessed, and do still possess it, and we know no reason to doubt that it has been exercised. All that the bill proposed to do, was to render it more easy than it is now, to ascertain the precise amount of the interest of resident stockholders; by requiring that a list of their names, with the number of shares held by them respectively, should be furnished on application to the treasurer of any State. But without any such provision, the tax would be no more likely to be evaded, than a tax on money at interest, or various other kinds of property. In the same manner may the foreign stockholder be made liable to similar taxation at home; and

his tax would in all probability not be lighter, than that of the native owner of the stock. The only effect of subjecting the foreign stockholder to taxation here, would be, to render the stock less valuable abroad than it is at home; and in that event, there would be no necessity for adopting the proposition of the President to prohibit its sale to aliens, 'under penalty of absolute forfeiture.' The truth is, that much of this stock is sent abroad in the way of remittance, thus answering the purposes, and saving the exportation of specie, and not simply because it is desired as a means of permanent investment; but if it were sold only to those who wish to retain it, it must be obvious, that they would be interested in the preservation, rather than the destruction of our Government, precisely in proportion to the extent of their interest in the stock.

The error of the Message arises from a supposition, at variance, as we believe, with the observation and experience of practical men, that there is in our country at this moment a superabundance of capital. The increase of capital, however great it may be, is not equal to that of the demands of industry and enterprise. In the absence of our own, that of foreigners comes in to supply the deficiency, which would not be the fact, if it were not wanted and could not be advantageously employed. A nation that neither wants nor requires it, would no more think of procuring it abroad, than he who has money which he wishes to loan, would think of borrowing of his neighbor. Within a few months, a loan to the amount of several millions has been negociated abroad. The capital, thus introduced, animates and quickens industry in all its branches; sets the cars of our rail-roads in motion; impels the boats that crowd our navigable canals; and pours itself through a thousand channels, to swell the broad tide of our national prosperity. We cannot but regret that the President should have thought proper to utter a denunciation, which must, so far as it has any effect at all, diminish the value of American stock in every market in the world.

By one of the provisions of the bill, the notes of the Bank and of its branches, though declared on their faces to be payable at one place only, were required to be every where received in payment of balances due from the State Banks. This provision, in the opinion of the President, though sufficiently just as far as respects those Banks, is yet most odious,

because it confers on these institutions a privilege which is denied to individuals; and because it tends to unite the local Banks and that of the United States in the consummation of any measures, which may conduce to the common benefit of all. From this language it would naturally be inferred, that the people were about to be deprived of some right which the Bank might well be required to allow, and which they may properly claim. But what is this supposed right? Simply, that all the notes issued by the Bank and all its offices, shall be made payable at every office; or, in other words, that each office shall be constantly provided with funds to redeem, not only its own notes, but the notes of all the rest. This would be merely to ordain, that no branches shall be established at all. It would be just as reasonable to require, that each State Bank should redeem the notes of every other. So far as this can be done with safety, it is already done by the Bank of the United States, from a regard to its own interest, and to extend the circulation of its notes; and its extensive dealings in exchange afford it greater facilities for so doing, than any other institution could possess. Its five dollar notes are already paid in this manner; and the instances are rare, in which similar payment has been refused in regard to notes of any denomination. But if it were under an imperative and indispensable obligation to redeem its notes, not merely at the offices whence they are issued, but at every other, the expense and burden of such a requisition, if the thing were practicable, would be too great for any institution to bear. On the occurrence of a pressure in the money-market of any commercial city where a branch may chance to be established, the bills of every branch which could possibly be procured, would be instantly sent to that particular branch for redemption, in addition to its own. These notes are now as valuable as specie; that is, wherever they may be issued, they are any where convertible into it, at a premium which is no greater than the expense of transporting specie; and to require any thing farther, would be to compel the Bank gratuitously to perform the exchanges of every individual in every section of the country. We know not that there is any complaint against its present course in this respect; reasonable complaint, we think, there can be none. Even as respects State Banks, the provision would be wholly nugatory. It is designed to guard against the exercise of a power, which the Bank has never used; that of effecting

a combination among several branches, to send the notes of a particular bank to a branch in its vicinity for collection, while the bank, thus called upon, can offer only in exchange the notes of the branch which demands the payment. The dealings of the Bank of the United States with the State Banks have not been such, as to call for the application of any remedy like this.

It has been urged, says the President, as an argument in favor of re-chartering the Bank, that the calling in of its loans will produce general embarrassment and distress; and he replies to this argument by maintaining, that this cannot be the case, unless its management has been bad; in which event the fault will be its own. The argument, if well founded, will in his opinion never be less powerful than it is now; so that, if it have any force, the Bank must be permitted to endure forever. If, however, the facilities which it gives are required by the industry and commerce of the country; if, as we shall presently attempt to show, they are of indispensable necessity to some particular sections, it by no means follows, that any distress, which might result from the sudden withdrawal of those facilities, would be ascribed with justice to mismanagement on the part of the Bank itself. It would be just as reasonable to prohibit agriculture, and hold the farmer responsible for the injuries of the famine. Some parts of the country are rich in industry and enterprise, but poor in capital; in obedience to one of the purposes of its institution, the Bank pours out its capital there; it cannot be suffered to depart, because there is nothing to supply its place. Undoubtedly, if there be any imperious necessity for destroying it, the evil must be encountered. But shall we destroy it, simply because it must at some time perish, like all things earthly, and because we may chance to think that it can be no more easily destroyed at any future day? A proposition of this kind can only be supported on the ground, that the institution is dangerous as well as useless. The doctrine of the Message in fact is, that it is full of evil in all its tendency and operations.

'The amount of stock held in the nine Western States,' observes the President, is '$140,200, and in the four Southern States is 5,623,100 dollars, and in the Eastern and Middle states about 13,522,000 dollars. The profits of the Bank in 1831, as shown in a statement to Congress, were about 3,455,598 dollars; of this there accrued in the nine Western States about 1,640,048, in

the four Southern States about 352,507 dollars, and in the Middle and Eastern States about 1,463,041 dollars. As little stock is held in the West, it is obvious that the debt of the people in those States is principally a debt to the Eastern and foreign stockholders; that the interest they pay upon it is carried into the Eastern States and into Europe; and that it is a burden upon their industry, and a drain of their currency, which no country can bear without inconvenience and occasional distress.'

If we were called upon to point out the most obvious and striking example of the beneficial operations of the Bank, we hardly know to what quarter we should more readily turn, than to the section thus exhausted and oppressed; or from what facts we should draw a more conclusive argument in its favor, than from those which are here arrayed in testimony of its evils. What was the condition of the Western States a few years ago, and what is it now? Before the operations of the Bank were conducted on their present scale, the people of these States had all the natural advantages, of which they are in possession at present;—the same magical fertility of soil, which hardly asks the aid of patient industry, to yield its golden harvest; the same bold spirit of enterprise, which laughs at danger and privation; the same magnificent rivers, to bear the produce of their labor to the sea. But all these availed them comparatively little, so long as the capital procured by their industry was absorbed in new improvements, and enough could not be afforded, to circulate the productions of their labor. In order to supply this deficiency, banks were established, without any of those salutary restrictions, which experience has shown to be essential to guard the public against the multiplied calamities of failure. Far from being founded upon capital, they were established for the very reason that capital was wanting. For a time, the expedient appeared to answer its intended purpose; but the interest of their proprietors combined with the demands of the public to induce unlimited issues of paper, and the inevitable consequences were soon revealed. It was impossible for the banks to redeem their notes, and their value sunk at once in the hands of the holders. Creditors, however, were compelled to receive them or not be paid at all; for the fatal remedy of stop and relief laws, which always aggravate the evil they are meant to cure, was instantly applied to prevent the utter ruin of the debtor. These measures produced no other effect, than that of taking the

property of one man and giving it to another, of enriching the speculator, and destroying all that confidence, without which the elements of society are feebly held together. Those who would gladly have removed from this scene of ruin found it impossible, because the paper, which was so depreciated in their own State, was absolutely worthless in another. Nothing could be imagined more fatal to industry, than such a state of things as this; and we are confident, that we do not attribute too much to the operation of the Bank of the United States, when we say that it did more than any other cause, to rescue the Western States from these accumulated evils; not indeed in the outset of its operations, but since it has been conducted on its present extensive and judicious plan. But the depreciation of the local currency, though by far the greatest, was not the only evil. The merchant, who carried this depreciated paper beyond the limits of his own State to purchase supplies, was of course compelled to exchange it for such funds as might serve his purpose; and the rate of discount was graduated according to the risk and difficulty of obtaining payment of the notes he carried with him. It is needless to explain the consequences resulting from a necessity of estimating the solvency of banks in establishing that rate, and from conducting the operations of exchange on the basis of an unsound currency.

Under the present system, the mischiefs arising from a depreciated and fluctuating currency are not likely to return. The paper of the Bank of the United States is every where received in payments to the Government, and every where equivalent to specie, and the depreciated currency of other banks cannot be kept for any length of time in circulation. Their issues are thus limited by their ability to redeem them. At present, the beneficial influence of that institution is more distinctly visible in the operations of exchange; and from these, individuals in all sections of the country derive real, if not equal benefit. For all commercial purposes, they are brought into the immediate vicinity of each other. The merchant in New York, who sells goods to the dealer in Cincinnati, draws on the latter for the amount; the Bank purchases his bill on the most favorable terms, and provides him with funds for further operations without hazard or delay. The facilities given to the Western merchant are greater, because he can less easily dispense with them. His trade is in the first instance carried on with the Western and South-

western States, and with the drafts received in return for his produce, he may purchase his supplies in the Atlantic cities. If he send it to New Orleans, his bills, drawn on the proceeds, are bought by the branch in his neighborhood, and remitted to that city. 'When,' says the President of the Bank, 'the notes issued by the several branches find their way in the course of trade to the Atlantic branches, the Western branches pay the Atlantic branches by drafts on their funds accumulated at the branch in New Orleans, which there pay the Atlantic branches by bills growing out of the purchases made in New Orleans on account of the Northern merchants or manufacturers; thus completing the circle of the operations.' The Western dealer is thus enabled immediately to pay to the cultivator the price of his crop, while he himself receives the amount for which he sells it at New Orleans. The influence of these facilities is felt in all departments of the industry of the West. The merchant of the seaboard might obtain less complete accommodation elsewhere; but the people of the West must obtain it from the Bank, or obtain it as they did several years ago, for a price, at the very lowest, five times greater than it is at present. Yet even this, important as it is, is not the only benefit which the Western States derive from the Bank. Their demand for capital, to keep the ponderous wheels of their ever-active industry in motion, is supplied by loans to the amount of many millions of dollars, apart from the acceptances of bills drawn on other parts of the country. The capital, thus furnished by the Bank, cannot be drawn to the same extent from other sources. On the very statement of the President of the United States, the West would obviously not be able to supply its place. It is provided for them by the Bank, at the interest of six per cent., a rate far lower than individuals could easily obtain, far lower than they would readily give; and the lowest portion of the profits upon it is remitted to those by whom it is provided, while its substantial benefits remain, and animate and brighten the prosperity of that singularly favored portion of our land. Such is the picture, in which the President can see nothing but darkness and gloomy shades;—such is the drain upon the currency, and the burden upon the industry of the West!

But what consequences are to follow, when these facilities shall be withdrawn, as withdrawn they must be, so far as we have any understanding of the views of the President of the

United States,—so far, certainly, as the decision of the question rests with him? Even if another similar institution were to be created, they must still be withdrawn, because years must elapse, before the same could be afforded by the new. The term of its charter, now remaining, will hardly be sufficient to enable the present Bank to call in its debts and withdraw its circulation. But the creation of another such institution appears to form no part of the President's design. That design has been already communicated in a former message, in which he proposed to establish a Bank without power to issue notes, without power to make loans, and with authority merely to buy and sell exchange with the deposites of the Government; which, as we have seen, must in future be more limited than they have been heretofore, and derived from revenue, a small portion of which only is collected in the West. For aught, then, that appears, an incalculable amount of money is in the course of less than four years to be remitted in discharge of debts, from the Western States to the Atlantic cities and to foreign countries. The circulation of the Bank, which constitutes the only currency of several of those States and a large proportion of that of all, must disappear. In what manner this debt is to be paid, is beyond the power of the imagination to conceive; but it may safely be predicted, that it will be attended with confusion and distress, in comparison with which, all the calamities which have heretofore beset that portion of our land, would be prosperity and happiness. Nor is the place of that circulation to be supplied by the erection of State Banks, in such a crisis. The capital, on which alone those institutions could be safely founded, would be withdrawn; and they could but ill supply the want of capital, when its deficiency is the very cause of their creation. Such fabrics, 'built in the eclipse,' could show no canvass on a heavy sea. Their notes would rush at once to the branches of the Bank, in payment of the overwhelming debt. Experience is full of lessons on this subject, to which it would be madness not to listen; but eloquent as it is, it cannot adequately tell the danger. It were almost as well, that the magnificent Father of waters, rolling onward to the sea with the golden fruits of a continent upon his bosom, ploughed by a thousand keels, and spreading verdure and prosperity, bright as the sunshine he reflects, in his majestic course, were suddenly exhausted of his mighty flood.

We had ventured to entertain the opinion, that the constitutional power of Congress to incorporate a Bank was as fairly settled, as any power ever can be; but we are informed by the President, that the fact is otherwise; that it is neither settled by precedent, nor by the decision of the Supreme Court; not by precedent, because if the Congresses of 1791 and 1816 decided 'in favor of a bank,' those of 1811, and 1815, decided against it; nor by the decision of the Supreme Court, because, besides that this tribunal has no authority to control Congress or the Executive, when acting in their legislative capacities, it has never decided that 'all the features' of the present Bank are constitutional. It is obvious that the acts of Congress, by which banks have been erected, carry with them an authority, which the rejection by that body of certain bills presented to them for a similar purpose does not. Whenever they use the power, they declare plainly enough that they believe themselves to possess it; but when they decline to use it, their unwillingness may arise from an objection to the particular mode of exercising it which is offered for their consideration, as well as from a conviction that they want the power. Thus in 1815, President Madison, in the same Message in which he refused his assent to a bill for the incorporation of a bank, declared that he waived the constitutional question, as being precluded, in his judgment, 'by repeated recognitions, under varied circumstances, of the validity of such an institution, in acts of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Government, accompanied by indications, in different modes, of a concurrence of the general will of the nation.' His rejection of a particular bill, under these circumstances, could not well be quoted as a proof, that he denied to the Legislature the possession of the constitutional power. The Congress of 1815 doubted it as little, or they would probably not have passed the bill, which the President rejected. In the other instance mentioned in the Message, that of the Congress of 1811, the power was, if not affirmed, at least, not denied. A bill was actually passed by the House of Representatives in that year for the incorporation of a Bank, which was rejected in the Senate by the casting vote of the Vice President; but one of the Senators who voted in opposition to it has declared, that he never at any time entertained a doubt respecting the constitutional power, and that his objection was founded on some particular provisions of the bill. The hostile

precedents therefore vanish, while the power of Congress to incorporate a bank has been affirmed in every conceivable mode, by the almost unanimous opinion of distinguished statesmen, the uniform action of the Government, and the ready acquiescence of the people. With as little justice can it be maintained, that the question is not yet settled by the authority of the judicial tribunals of the United States. The Message declares, that those tribunals have not determined that the provisions of the particular bill of the last session of Congress are constitutional. They have however affirmed the constitutionality of the existing charter, which this bill was intended to renew. We regret to perceive, that the President appears himself to entertain doubts of the constitutional power of Congress to incorporate any other institution, than such an one as he has himself recommended in a former Message; one which would certainly not come within any constitutional prohibition, if any such existed, to incorporate a Bank.

We will here allude to some other portions of the Message, which convince us, that the assent of the President to any bill for the incorporation of a bank, bearing the least resemblance to the existing one, is not to be expected. In attempting to show, that the provisions of the bill are not such as are necessary and proper to enable Congress to carry into execution any of their powers, he points to the section in which it is declared that no other bank shall be established during the continuance of the present one, as an unconstitutional restriction imposed by one Congress on the just authority of several successive future ones. The doctrine is simply this; that Congress can make no contract, which shall be binding on their successors. If this doctrine be well founded, nothing is more certain than the fact, that all certificates of public stock, all pledges of property of the Government for the payment of the public debt, all subscriptions to the stock of incorporated companies for the purposes of internal improvement, all contracts, in short, of every description whatsoever, perish with the Congresses by which they are made. We do not consider it necessary to do more than state this proposition; it is enough for our present purpose to say, that no individual, in the full possession of his senses, could ever become a subscriber to the stock of an institution, which the same power that made, could the next moment destroy. As if the doctrine were not stated with sufficient clearness, the President shortly after de-

clares, that 'every act of Congress which attempts by grants of monopolies, or sales of exclusive privileges for a limited time, or a time without limit, to restrict or extinguish its own discretion in the choice of means to execute its delegated powers, is equivalent to a legislative amendment of the constitution, and palpably unconstitutional.' Again: 'By its silence, in connexion with the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of McCulloch against the State of Maryland,' says the Message, 'this act takes from the States the power to tax a portion of the banking business carried on within their limits, in subversion of one of the strongest barriers which secured them against Federal encroachments;' and this supposed power is declared to be one, to which the States ought 'pertinaciously to cling,' and of which it is unconstitutional to deprive them. It is worthy of remark, that the right of taxing the parent Bank, which is here considered as a clear State right, has not before been claimed; all that has been contended for, is that of taxing its various offices. We have already remarked, that the bill concedes no right of taxation whatever to the States; if they do not possess it, it is denied them by the constitution of the United States; if they do, no act of Congress could take the right away. The right for which the Message contends is that of taxing the circulation of the Bank. The power of taxation is unlimited; it involves that of complete annihilation. There must be some singular confusion of powers, if Congress may do that, which the States may forcibly prevent; if Congress has power to erect an institution, which the States have equal power to overthrow. The argument proceeds upon the assumption, that the power over all banking business, including that of regulating the currency, belongs exclusively to the States; and if the assumption have any foundation, it shows that Congress have no jurisdiction over the subject at all. With such views, how can the assent of the President be given to any bank of circulation, at any future day? How could he approve a bill which, in his judgment, would be equivalent to a deliberate and dangerous assumption on the part of Congress of a right plainly reserved to the several States? Or, if he should consent to do this, how could individuals be induced to invest their property, where, at any moment of dissatisfaction, it could be swept at once into the treasury of any State? We hold, therefore, that on the principles of the Message, not only the days of this Bank are numbered, but

that, so far as depends on the Executive, it would be delusion to look for the creation of any other; excepting such an one, without power to make loans, without power to issue notes, without property and without credit, as he has himself already recommended.

It was not without surprise, that we saw the following doctrine promulgated on the authority of the President of the United States. 'It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, of the Senate, and of the President, to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval, as it is of the Supreme Judges, when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The opinion of the Judges has no more authority over Congress, than the opinion of Congress has over the Judges; and on that point, the President is independent of both. The authority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control Congress or the Executive, when acting in their legislative capacities, but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve.' If by this it be intended to assert, that the Supreme Court have no authority to interpose to prevent the passage of an unconstitutional law, the proposition is doubtless true; but it goes farther. It declares that, after the Supreme Court have declared a law to be unconstitutional, Congress may properly re-enact it, whenever they see fit. If such be its real meaning, a doctrine more fatal to the operation of our Government is not easily to be conceived. Will it be seriously maintained, that if the Supreme Court had at any time decided against the power of the Legislature to create a bank, they might the very next moment establish one, without any violation of the spirit of the constitution? The constitution is nothing more than the recorded will of the people of the Union; in all controversies respecting its intent and meaning, it is ordained by that supreme will, that the Court, and not the Legislature shall decide. By such a doctrine, a legislative body, acting under certain powers, are at liberty to do, not only what the tribunal which is commissioned by the people to decide in doubtful cases respecting the extent of those powers, declare that they do not authorize, but that they explicitly forbid. The judicial power is thus made to rest upon the arm of other authority, and may at any hour be crushed beneath it. All the restrictions by which the wisdom of our fathers would have checked the

unlimited exercise of legislative discretion, are swept away; all the safeguards, which their providence erected as a barrier to shield our civil rights, are prostrate in the dust. The whole action of the system of our Government is converted into a mere battle between its several departments, for power and victory. Indeed, the tone of the Message throughout, as respects the Supreme Court of the United States, is not what we had hoped to see; here, as well as elsewhere, it seems to have fallen on evil days, if not on evil tongues. It is now more than forty years, since that great and dignified tribunal was first erected. During that whole period, some of the wisest and best men of our country have filled its seats; its moral influence, like the invisible attraction which holds the universe together, has preserved, each in its place and order, the various and mighty elements of our social system. The world affords no finer spectacle, than the tranquil but majestic operation of a power like this; relying, not on that force which unintelligent things obey, but on the more exalted and commanding force of truth and wisdom; no nobler example of proud and dignified self-denial, than the act, by which millions consented to do homage at the venerable shrine of reason and of law. Like all things else in the constitution of our Government, it had its birth in the united public will. It may be overthrown by violence, or it may be undermined by the slow efforts of illiberal hostility. But if it be the will of Providence, that its pillars should be shaken, the whole fabric of that Government will perish in a common ruin; the days of our country's glory will be numbered and finished;—her historian may shut the book;—her star will go down in blood.

It is contended in the Message, that the Supreme Court have done no more than to decide, that Congress may incorporate a bank; but that they have never yet decided, that the 'features' of the existing charter are constitutional. The Court, it maintains, in the case of McCulloch against the State of Maryland, observed, that it was the province of the Legislature to decide upon the degree of the necessity of such an institution, and thus admitted, that the details, the particular features of the act, are points with which the Judges conceive themselves to have nothing to do; and it then proceeds to argue, that several of the provisions of the existing act are not necessary to enable the Bank to perform the duties assigned to it as a public agent, and are of course unwarranted by the constitu-

tion. Here is apparently a cold and reluctant assent to the authority of the decision, but it is only given to what we consider a very erroneous representation of it. In the case in question, the language of the Court was, that 'the act incorporating the Bank is constitutional.' This act is the charter of the existing Bank; and it would be a strange inference from these expressions, that the act itself may be constitutional, while its provisions are altogether at war with the constitution. The import of the terms is obviously, not merely that Congress may incorporate a bank, but that the act of incorporation, in its present form, is within the just limits of their authority; and not that the question, whether Congress have exercised their power in conformity with the constitution, is one with which they have nothing to do, or that the Legislature may have used a constitutional power in an unconstitutional way. Undoubtedly, the Court disclaimed all right of judging of the degree of the necessity for the exercise of this power; that is, whether Congress should or should not use their constitutional discretion. This would have been a plain assumption of legislative authority; but it is difficult to imagine, how this can be mistaken for a declaration, that, as Congress may use such means as are suitable and proper for the due execution of their rightful powers, the Court cannot interfere when they employ improper ones. Still less did the Court determine, that an act, in execution of any of the powers of Congress, in order to be 'necessary and proper' within the meaning of the constitution, must be of absolute and indispensable necessity. Were this the fact, our Government would soon be at an end. Not a single provision of the penal code of the Union is indispensably and absolutely necessary. There are, in fact, no means by which the powers of Congress are ever exercised, for which others might not be substituted. The Message admits, that such is not the opinion of the Court. 'The Court,' it observes, 'have satisfied themselves that the word "necessary," in the constitution, means "needful," "requisite," "essential," "conducive to;"' and then proceeds to maintain, that certain provisions of the existing charter, not being indispensably necessary, are unconstitutional. In its terms, therefore, the Message very unwillingly admits the authority of the Court; but the argument forgets the admission. The Court declare, that the Bank is exempt from liability to State taxation; that it may lawfully be invested with exclusive privi-

leges; that it possesses the right to establish branches where it pleases; all this the Message pronounces plainly unconstitutional, and in doing it, expresses of course the same opinion of the existing charter, as a whole.

It seems hardly necessary to enter into an argument to defend that, which the authorized expounder of constitutional law, the Supreme Court of the United States, has already vindicated with all the force of authority and reasoning. We shall not attempt to do this; but simply express our conviction, already intimated more than once, that they must greatly deceive themselves, who entertain the hope that the President can ever give his assent to any bill bearing the slightest relation, in any of its essential provisions, to the existing charter. He says, indeed, that had the Executive been called upon to furnish the project of an institution, not liable to any constitutional objections, the duty would have been cheerfully performed. That task has already been performed, and the result is not such, as to inspire Congress with any passion for soliciting the Executive further. Such is not the province of the Executive; such applications are not in the usual nor appropriate course of the proceedings of Congress. Had they, however, thought fit to adopt the intimation, and to call upon the Secretary of the Treasury, the organ of the Executive on financial subjects, for such a project, what could he have done more than to refer them to his Report at the beginning of the late session, in which he has urgently recommended the renewal of the existing charter?

We have thus adverted to those portions of the Message of the President, which appeared to us most open to objection. There are other portions, as well as other considerations which have been frequently urged elsewhere, to which our limits will not permit us even to allude. The subject is not easily comprehended within the compass of a few pages; and, in the remarks we have already made, we have found ourselves compelled to treat it more in the way of suggestion, than of ample and extended investigation.

Even if the question were simply between the continuance of the existing Bank, and some other with similar powers, there are considerations of importance which plead strongly in favor of the former. The profits of the stockholders, including the advanced value of the stock, have not been large; their affairs have been conducted with judgment,

prudence and liberality of spirit; besides the price originally paid for their charter, they have performed services for the nation, in supplying it with loans, in the transfer of its funds, and in the restoration of a sound and uniform currency, and performed them faithfully and well. But, more than this, the danger of a transfer of their privileges and duties to another institution, a danger which the Secretary of the Treasury has so clearly and strongly pointed out, ought not causelessly to be incurred. The hazards consequent upon a change of this sort would be great and numerous; what benefit the country could derive from it, it is beyond our comprehension to perceive.

If, however, it should be determined that no bank shall exist, we know not how the country is to be preserved from that wretched state of distrust, confusion and disaster, from which the efforts of years were heretofore required to redeem it. What reason is there to believe, that the long train of ills, which followed the dissolution of the last Bank, will not attend the extinction of the present one,—wild and reckless speculation, ruined confidence, worthless currency, and prostrate and broken credit? Let the people attend to the warnings of experience. If there be truth in her voice, or wisdom in her instruction, there will be nothing auspicious in the hour, which shall witness the downfal of the Bank.

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